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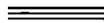
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John Taylor and Southern Agriculture

By AVERY CRAVEN

The way of the farmer, like that of the transgressor, is hard. He must ever plant and await his harvest amid the uncertainties of weather, pests, and markets. Hope must ever be tempered with fear. The brightest prospects may at any moment turn to utter ruin. Heat and cold, rain and sun are both his fickle friends and his brutal enemies. One can well sympathize with the beaten tiller of stubborn soils who quit farming with the declaration that he was going to get into some business with which the Lord had less to do.

But the farmer's troubles are not all with a willful nature. The very character of his tasks renders him a rugged individualist—a man capable of standing on his own feet and quite determined to do so. Constant experience with the fixed ways of nature and the rule of thumb methods necessary to circumvent or co-operate with her make him both conservative and backward in his tendencies. He is, regardless of time and place and changing conditions, always more or less a frontiersman in his outlook.

Such characteristics may serve well in simple rural-pioneer days; they become stumbling blocks when urban-industrial developments crowd the rural-agricultural order and institute conflict of interest and complexity of relationships. Then co-operation, efficiency, and capacity for rapid readjustment are essential to dominance. The farmer lags behind. He loses social standing. The richer economic rewards go to others. In time the farmer sinks to the level of serf or peasant while the men of commerce, finance, and industry rule the day. Such is the story which history has to tell of those who have fed mankind through the years.

The Virginia planter of Colonial days began his course at one of the

few periods favorable to farmers in the history of the Western World. He was heir to the station and prestige of the English country gentleman. He came at a time when modern capitalism was ingrafting a new acquisitive individualism onto that older ideal and making it possible for a rural man to speculate in lands, to exploit the natural resources of a raw continent, and to enslave black men for his benefit. Profits were no longer below a gentleman's purposes. He could defend without loss of dignity the laissez faire theory in economics and politics and insist that natural laws, if allowed free play, would give the greatest human happiness. He could measure happiness in terms of property and believe that the democratic form of government was the best political expression of all these things. Democracy gave more of freedom and more of equality and more of material opportunity.

In like vein he could proclaim with wide approval the superiority of agriculture over any other economic endeavor. It gave the basic products of food and raw materials for fabrication. It added something to character and it encouraged virtue. The farmer might even envisage himself as the chief factor in God's own great experiment in human well-being. John Taylor of Caroline once boasted that "the divine intelligence which selected an agricultural state as a paradise for his first favourites, has here again prescribed the agricultural virtues as the means for the admission of their posterity into heaven."¹ He further insisted that on the maintenance of republican institutions, partial to farmers, depended "whether the United States [should] . . . establish a new era in the world, or [should] . . . follow the inglorious track marked by the career of other nations."²

However fair the prospect for the realization of a rural paradise may have been in the beginning, times had changed sharply for the worse with the American Revolution and the establishment of a new national government. For many decades profits had been uncertain and an air of

¹ John Taylor, *Arator, Being a Series of Agricultural Essays, Practical and Political* (4th ed., Petersburg, Va., 1818), 188-89; *id.*, *Tyranny Unmasked* (Washington, 1822), 129, 345-47.

² *Id.*, *An Enquiry into the Principles and Tendency of Certain Public Measures* (Philadelphia, 1794), 110.

poverty and despair had fallen on this embryo Eden. Tobacco, the great staple of Colonial days, had long languished under British regulations, the heavy burdens of indirect marketing, and the wasteful practices of frontier farming methods. Soils had depleted as crop after crop had been taken from the lands and as destructive rainfall had carried surface materials out to the ocean.³ By the end of the Revolution, a traveler through the section where once William Fitzhugh boasted of his 54,000 acres, of good debts lying out to about 250,000 pounds, and of Negroes whose increase would keep the stock good forever, found "the inhabitants betraying strong symptoms of poverty" and their houses "uniformly" of "a mean appearance."⁴

A decade later another described the landowners of Virginia as generally "in low circumstances, the inferior rank of them wretched in the extreme"; agriculture there, according to him, "had arrived at its lowest state of degradation." The price of land in most neighborhoods had fallen sharply, as thousands, despairing of profits, offered their lands for sale, so that they might seek new homes in the more fertile West. Some actually abandoned their fields and left their dilapidated houses to fall into desolate ruin. Others shifted from one kind of crop to another. Plantations were divided into farms where subsistence farming took the place of staples.⁵

Some said the soils were completely worn out and could no longer support a decent standard of living. Some grumbled at the middleman who still took more than his share of the returns. Some saw that markets were unsatisfactory. A few criticized the methods used in agriculture. They pointed out the lack of crop rotation, of good plowing, of sufficient stock to give manure for the hungry lands. A smaller number called attention to the wastefulness of slavery. All agreed that unless

³ Avery Craven, *Soil Exhaustion as a Factor in the Agricultural History of Virginia and Maryland, 1606-1860*, in *University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences*, XIII, No. 1 (Urbana, 1925), 81-85.

⁴ Duc de la Rochefoucauld-Laincourt, *Travels in North America*, 2 vols. (London, 1799), II, 23.

⁵ William Strickland, *Observations on the Agriculture of the United States of America* (London, 1801), 49.

something was done, and done soon, the Old Dominion would lose the best of her inhabitants and the greater part of her prestige.⁶

To material conditions a more alarming factor was soon added. The formation of the Constitution and the triumph of Federal policies under the leadership of Alexander Hamilton brought new interests forward to contend with agriculture for control in a government of majorities. In quick succession came the creation of a great national funded debt, the establishment of a national bank with its accompanying extension of credit, and the possibilities of enlarged issues of paper money. Then came the demand for protective tariffs uniting what one alarmed citizen called the "monied aristocracy" with the industrial privileged and requiring a "consolidation of government" well beyond what agrarian philosophers thought the Constitution permitted. Thus both agriculture and local democracy were being endangered.

Such was the situation that stirred John Taylor of Caroline to inaugurate a movement which, when revived in later days, was designated by the title, *I'll Take My Stand*. With courage and clear insight he began that lavish shedding of ink which has characterized the movement. Pamphlets and books flowed from his pen and the glories and the soundness of a rural-agricultural way of life were unfolded to an unreceptive world.

In sound seventeenth century fashion Taylor struck first at the "legal factions" which, through an enlarged activity of central government and legislation favoring industrial and financial groups, were threatening to become an American aristocracy. He bitterly contrasted this "order of stock-jobbers in loans, banks, manufactories, contracts, rivers, roads, houses, ships, lotteries, and an infinite number of inferior tricks to get money," with the "honest, virtuous, patriotic and bold" landed gentry whom they were replacing. He asserted that: "Monarchies and aristocracies, being founded in the principle of distributing wealth by law, can only subsist by frauds and deceptions to dupe ignorance into an opinion, that such distributions are intended for its benefit; but in genuine republics, founded on the principle of leaving wealth to be distributed by

⁶ Craven, *Soil Exhaustion*, 86-121.

merit and industry, these treacheries of government are treasons against nations."⁷

He thus implied that in a true republic the majority of the citizens would always be farmers and the mass of wealth would always be in the hands of those who tilled the soil. On their backs would rest the burdens of both the legitimate and the illegitimate creations of legislation. "Agriculture," he said, "pays and must forever pay most of whatever is collected by taxes, by charters, by protecting duties, by paper systems of every kind, for armies, for navies, and though last, not the least of its losses, of whatever the nation is defrauded by a treasury system operating in darkness."⁸

This being the case, one could assume that where officeholders, speculators, and industrialists were prospering above the farming class, they were "filching" wealth from its real producers and setting up an artificial social-economic scheme of things. Such a situation had long existed in England and in other countries of the Old World. It was now being established in the United States. Already because wealth "thus filched is made by laws to yield a better profit without labour, than . . . with it," capital was "flying from the fields, to the legal monopolies, banking and manufacturing. The laws [had] . . . established a thousand modes by which capital [would] . . . produce quicker and larger profits, than when employed in the slow improvements of agriculture." He estimated that "Forty per centum" of the farmer's earnings were being paid "to a legal faction . . . pretending to no religion, to no morality, to no patriotism, except to the religion, morality and patriotism of making itself daily richer."⁹

The remedy for such evils lay first in a quick return to natural and sound relationships. The dignity and prosperity of agriculture, which once gave it unchallenged economic-social pre-eminence, must be restored. If that had been lost through the growth of "consolidated" government, then the political situation should be changed. "The plough

⁷ Taylor, *Arator*, 31-33.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 31.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 36-37.

can have very little success," said Taylor, "until the laws are altered which obstruct it." "So long as the laws make it more profitable to invest capital in speculations without labour, than in agriculture with labour . . . a love of wealth, and a love of ease" will make agricultural improvement impossible. Farmers, he thought, "had become political slaves" because they were "political fools." They had allowed domination to "those whose object is to monopolize the sweets of life, which [farmers] . . . sweat for." The weight in Congress was "very visably against the agriculturists," not because of "popular folly in elections," as some thought, but because of "the transit of wealth, and of course wisdom, from agriculture to its natural enemies, charter and privilege." In this he saw "the inevitable fate of the agricultural interest."¹⁰

The significant thing about Taylor's statements is the clear understanding of the importance of the economic factor. He saw that if the farmers were to maintain their station in American life they had to prosper. Unless their share in the national income was commensurate with their proportion of production they must yield both place and power. The country gentleman ideal, which had given the planter of the South his high social standing, could not survive poverty. Gentility rested on firm economic foundations. And economic foundations, in turn, rested on a just government. The surrender of political leadership to urban groups and the acceptance of legislation which augmented their development would ultimately rob the farmer of his political influence, of his economic superiority, and, in the end, of his social status. Urban and rural worlds were inherent enemies. Even in democratic America farmers might become peasants. If lesser interests, dominating legislation to their own benefit, became sectional in character, then the dissolution of the Union might become a necessity for the protection of the rural way of life.¹¹

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 42-46.

¹¹ John Taylor, *New Views of the Constitution of the United States* (Washington, 1823), 50-83. "If either [section] can acquire local advantages from national supremacy, it will aggravate . . . a perpetual warfare of intrigue and a dissolution of the union will result."

Taylor thus saw the true nature of the "irrepressible conflict" towards which the nation was drifting—the day when the Southern agriculturist in the name of constitutional rights might face urban industrial sections in a final struggle to preserve government as it had been established and an economic life free from favoritism.

From such an understanding Taylor shaped his program of resistance and reform. His purpose was to restore democracy in government and society, and to rebuild agricultural prosperity. He had early opposed the adoption of the Constitution on the grounds of insufficient protection afforded individuals and states. He lined up solidly with his friend and fellow planter, Thomas Jefferson, against Hamilton's schemes for "consolidation" through funding, banking, and tariffs. He introduced Jefferson's famous resolutions in the Virginia assembly, insisting that the usurpation "of constitutional principles . . . if allowed to acquire maturity . . . [would] yield to the dreadful remedy of civil war."¹² Throughout the administrations of Adams and Jefferson he kept up his fight and brought it to a grand climax in bitter opposition to protective tariffs and to John Marshall's consolidating court decisions in the 'teens and early twenties. He was, without question, the most profound and the most persistent champion of individual and local democracy in the period.

Political scientists have viewed him largely from the angle of "strict construction" doctrine. They have generally missed the fact that in all this fight John Taylor was struggling to preserve a "way of life" which America had brought out of Old England and given firm foundations in the Southern plantation. He was trying to hold back government as the creator of urban-industrial groups who by privilege upset the whole natural economy of agricultural dominance. He was attempting to check the flow of capital from farming to industry—for he saw that only through the dignity bestowed by being a capitalist, an entrepreneur, an employer of labor in large-scale effort, could farmers remain gentlemen.

¹² John Taylor, *Construction Construed, and Constitutions Vindicated* (Richmond, 1820), 298; Henry H. Simms, *Life of John Taylor* (Richmond, 1932), *passim*; John Taylor, *A Definition of Parties* (Philadelphia, 1794), 1; *id.*, *Enquiry into the Principles*, 2.

He was waging the battle of his own interest against that of another group whose advantages in politics and in financial manipulation for profits were so much greater than his own that they endangered the whole rural way of genteel living. He was taking his stand for a fundamental social conception.

The second part of Taylor's program was thoroughly interwoven with the first. Its purpose was agricultural reform for profits. And here Taylor began by practice followed soon by preaching. On his plantation, "Hazelwood," near the town of Port Royal, he carried on experiments in the use of fertilizers, crop rotation, and improved plowing, creating, in the midst of general decline, "a farm . . . distinguished by the verdure of its fields . . . [and] the abundance of its crops."¹³ In 1803 he began a series of articles on agriculture in a Georgetown newspaper and in 1813 he gathered these together with some additions into a little volume called *Arator*. By 1818 it had gone through five editions and had attracted attention even in New England. John Adams stated that it surpassed any agricultural treatise he had seen from the pen of a Northern writer.

The book caused an immediate stir in Virginia. Weary planters, about ready to abandon their lands for the Western trek, took new hope. One writer spoke of a new complexion to the face of agriculture in the lower part of the state and called Taylor's book the "*vade-mecum* of almost every cultivator of the soil."¹⁴

The central idea in his book was that soils were depleted and fertility must be restored. "It is absurd," he said, "to talk of a system of agriculture, without having discovered, that every such system good for any thing, must be bottomed upon fertility. Before, therefore, we launch into any system, we must learn how to enrich our lands."¹⁵ To do this old methods and old crops must be abandoned. Tobacco had dominated

¹³ *American Farmer* (Baltimore, Washington, 1819-1897), II (1820), 198; *Memoirs of the Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture* (Philadelphia, 1808-1826), III (1814), 198; *Niles' Weekly Register* (Philadelphia, 1811-1848), XV (1822), 177-81; *Farmer's Register* (Shellbanks, Petersburg, Va., 1833-1842), II (1835), 612-14.

¹⁴ *American Farmer*, I (1819), 78.

¹⁵ Taylor, *Arator*, 56.

the fields too long.¹⁶ The overseer system had bribed men to "impoverish" lands, not to improve them. Wages, not a share of the crop, must be paid and long-time terms granted to those who were put in charge.¹⁷ Slavery itself, always "a misfortune to agriculture," needed some revision also. The number should be reduced to that in keeping with the ability of the master to personally supervise and profitably use.¹⁸ Regulations should be tightened and the free Negro eliminated from Southern society. These were first steps to be taken before positive efforts could hope for success.

Taylor's restorative program began with what he called "inclosing."¹⁹ By this he meant the "exclusion of all stock from the arable lands and the planting of such lands in those crops which would give the greatest quantity of vegetable matter for feeding or for direct return to the soils." The great source of fertility, he thought, was to be found in the atmosphere and plants alone could draw on this source of supply and make it available for man to return to the earth. Vegetable offal and animal manure would restore depleted soils.

He did not, it will be noticed, understand the use of legumes for the increasing of nitrogen, but he did believe that red clover, together with Indian corn, furnished the best means toward his ends. Clover should be grown on every spot where it could be "prevailed upon to exist"; Indian corn was the "vegetable proper for poor ground."²⁰ Gypsum, lime, and marl might assist in the work of restoration, and good plowing, both for depth and for checking erosion, were prerequisites to other factors. Crop rotation, especially a three-shift system of corn, wheat, and pasture, if not the only means relied upon, had its value. But when all was said and done the way back to fertility and prosperity lay in the production and use of animal and vegetable manures. As he wrote to Jefferson: "Manure can come only of great offals, and great offals,

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 181-83.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 56-58.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 48-55.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 59-68.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 102-15.

only of great crops. These great crops, and great offals then are the desiderium."²¹

It is not necessary for us to discuss in detail the strength and weakness of this program in the light of modern scientific knowledge. There are some observations, and some suggested improvements which would pass muster even today. The criticisms of old methods, the insistence on the necessity for vegetable and animal manures in soil fertility, and the encouragement of better plowing are all recognized as valuable and enduring contributions. He erred in some of his theories and in a few of his practices. Failure dogged the footsteps of most of those who attempted to follow his teachings in the years which followed. But it would be quite unsound to determine the place of John Taylor in Southern agricultural history on the basis of the success or failure of his agricultural methods. That is to miss the whole point.

The significant thing about Taylor's program was the effort to give a firm and enduring economic foundation from which the farmer might wage his battle for the preservation of the country gentleman ideal. Agricultural reform was a part of the struggle against Alexander Hamilton and John Marshall. Democracy was worth preserving only because it gave the practical result of domination by honest and intelligent planters. Planters could remain the force behind true democracy only by being economically strong. Taylor quite frankly spoke of "the fallacy of form" and declared that any form of government was good which "produces the happiness . . . of a nation." The colonies did not revolt from England "for nothing but forms."²² They revolted to set up a more perfect social order in which happiness, as comprehended in the rural way of life which the seventeenth century praised, could be maintained. "Cupidity, avarice or monopoly," as represented in the urban-industrial classes, could bring misery under a democratic system or form as well as under any other. Save as these "artificial aristocrats" were restrained by a written constitution, strictly interpreted, they would become rulers. Unless the sovereignty of the state could dissolve geo-

²¹ Taylor to Thomas Jefferson, March 5, 1795, Jefferson MSS., Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress.

²² Taylor, *Construction Construed*, 13-15.

graphic majorities, and unless the farmers could enjoy prosperity which would enable them to keep their numbers and their prestige, then consolidation and resulting favors would bring to an end all that the Fathers had dreamed and had established.

Thus John Taylor forged a single program of political philosophy and agricultural practice. He was preparing the way for John C. Calhoun and Edmund Ruffin. He was providing a section, where old agrarian ideals and practices persisted, with the constitutional and agricultural weapons with which it might better fight for self-preservation. He was trying to prevent American democracy from becoming a means by which the few might plunder the many; he was trying to keep peasantry from American shores.

New Light on the Roanoke Colony

A PRELIMINARY EXAMINATION OF A STONE FOUND IN CHOWAN COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA

By HAYWOOD J. PEARCE, JR.

If a twenty-one pound quartz stone now in the custody of Emory University is what it purports to be, important new light is thrown on the fate of Raleigh's Lost Colony of Roanoke. Also a rare piece of Americana, contemporary with Queen Elizabeth, Drake, and the heroic age of England, is now available for investigation. Indeed, with the putative Drake plate of brass, recently reported in California, the Dare stone, if genuine, is one of the earliest historical records made by English hands on the soil of North America.¹

The stone is rough vein quartz, stained a light rusty brown. The exact weight of the stone is 21 pounds, 4 ounces; the area of the face is 104.78 square inches; the maximum length is $13\frac{5}{8}$ inches; the maximum width $9\frac{5}{8}$ inches; the maximum thickness $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The stone has a specific gravity of 2.63, and its hardness is reckoned at 7 plus in Moh's scale.²

¹ See Herbert E. Bolton, *Drake's Plate of Brass*, California Historical Society *Publication* (San Francisco, 1937).

² These measurements are recorded by Professor J. G. Lester of the Geology Department, and Professor J. H. Purks of the Physics Department, Emory University. Professor Lester contributes the following note:

"Megascopically, the rock is a fine to medium grained, holo-crystalline quartz of light color, which has been stained superficially to a light brown color. Microscopically, the rock shows an even texture of anhedral quartz, which commonly exhibits undulatory extinction due to stains developed during crystallization. Limonite occurs as a stain around and between many of the anhedral. This is perhaps the cause of the light brown color of the rock's surface. The rock is a fragment of quartz which commonly occurs as veins and lenses traversing the rocks of the Appalachian plateau.

"Quartz is a very stable mineral, being usually the last mineral in a rock to break down under normal agencies of weathering. It can be successfully scratched without impact by

On the smother side of the stone is carved a crude Latin cross. Beneath the cross are inscribed the lines:

Ananias Dare &
Virginia went hence
Unto Heaven 1591

Near the bottom, on the same side, are inscribed the lines:

Anye Englishman shew
John White Govr Via

The cross and the legend immediately below it might indicate that the stone was originally designed as a grave marker, an impression that does not comport with the bottom lines on the face of the stone, nor with the seventeen lines on the reverse side.

On the rougher side are inscribed the following seventeen lines, rendered here, so far as possible, exactly as they appear on the stone:

- 1 Father soone After yov
- 2 goe for Englande wee cam
- 3 hither/ onlie misarie & Warre—
- 4 tow yeere/ Above halfe DeaDe ere tow
- 5 yeere more from sickenes beine fovre & twentie/
- 6 salvage with message of shipp unto us/smal
- 7 space of time they affrite of revenge rann
- 8 al awaye/wee bleeve yt nott yov/soone after
- 9 ye salvages faine spirts angrie/suddiane
- 10 murther al save seaven/mine childe—
- 11 ananias to slaine wth mvch misarie—/
- 12 bvrie al neere fovre myles easte this river
- 13 vppon smal hil/names writ al ther
- 14 on rocke/putt this ther alsoe/salvage
- 15 shew this vnto yov & hither wee

many common minerals. All of the precious gems except pearl will scratch it. It can be successfully marked by impact with any of the common tools used by stonemasons.

"Geographically, it occurs in practically all parts of the world, but reaches the development best suited to furnish fragments similar to the Dare stone, in those regions near large masses of acid igneous plutonic rocks, being commonly found as offshoots from the main intrusive body."

Regarding the grooves of the inscription Professor Lester notes:

"(1) They are definitely rounded on the lower surface with a very uniform sloping side wall. (2) The channels show gaping on both walls and bottoms. (3) Extremities of the letters are never vertical except where they are intersected by fractures. Rather they seem to be feathered out."

16 promise yov to give greate

17 plentie presents

E W D^s

The stone was brought to Emory University in November, 1937, by the finder, whose name must be withheld for the present. While engaged in a motor tour in coastal North Carolina he chanced to walk some distance from the highway and stumbled upon the stone. He sought in vain for some weeks to decipher the inscription himself, and then came to Emory University to seek aid for that purpose. The finder remained seven or eight days at the University working with members of the faculty engaged in efforts to read the inscription. During this period he accompanied four of the persons co-operating in the investigation to coastal North Carolina and pointed out the approximate spot where he stumbled upon the stone. His address is now known to those who have the stone in custody.⁴

³ All *o's* and *a's* (with the exception of the capital *A's* in lines 1 and 4) are represented by the same sign—an irregular, roughly circular depression. All *o's* and *a's*, therefore (with the exception of the two capitals), are conjectural. The bars represent a conjectural division into sentences. It is believed that there is a badly defaced ampersand at the end of line 10. The Elizabethan long *s*, used throughout the stone, is not rendered in the text as reproduced here. The numbers, introduced for convenience, do not appear on the stone.

The custody of the stone and the work of deciphering the inscription has been a co-operative enterprise participated in by the following members of the Emory University faculty: Professor J. G. Lester of the Geology Department, Professor J. H. Purks of the Physics Department, Professors T. H. English and J. M. Steedman of the English Department, Mr. J. D. McCord of the University staff, and Professor Haywood J. Pearce, Jr., of the History Department.

The smooth side of the stone presented little difficulty, being fairly legible to the naked eye. The reverse or back side, however, could only be read, and that tentatively, with the aid of binocular microscope, magnifying glass, and stereoptican slides, greatly enlarged. The stone has been under study and investigation since November 9, 1937.

⁴ For sufficient reasons the exact location of the spot where the stone was reported found cannot now be given; but the following note contributed by Professor Lester will indicate the general area and the nature of the terrain.

"The site as pointed out by the finder of the stone was the east bank of the Chowan River in North Carolina. At this locality the bank is a part of a drowned swamp, caused by the eddy currents of river depositing sediment on the east bank while cutting away the west bank.

"The floor of the swamp is above the level of the river, which empties into the Albemarle Sound at no great distance away.

"The soil of the swamp is a thick black alluvium about four to five feet thick, spongy to the tread, and seems to have been made by the river sediment. The color of the soil

The facts of the establishment of the Roanoke Colony at the direction of Sir Walter Raleigh in July, 1587, and of John White's vain efforts to find the colony after his return from an extended forced sojourn in England, are well known to students of American history. The narrative is given in White's own words in Richard Hakluyt's classic *Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*. White's firsthand account of the establishment of the colony is printed in Hakluyt under the caption: "The fourth voyage made to Virginia with three ships, in the yere 1587. Wherein was transported the Second Colonie." The narrative of his search for his lost colonists is contained in a letter which White wrote to Hakluyt in 1593, and which is printed in Hakluyt's great book under the caption: "The fifth voyage of M. John White into the West Indies and parts of America called Virginia, in the yeere 1590 [1591]."⁵

Walter Raleigh, falling heir to the patent and interest in "western planting" of his deceased half brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, sent

is due to the high carbonaceous content, which is derived from decaying vegetation.

"The land rises very slightly away from the river, and the presence of pine trees would indicate that the drowning of the land is comparatively recent, although the thickness of the muck-like soil would indicate a longer period of time.

"There are no exposures of rock of any kind in the region, nor are there any exposures of rock encountered within a distance of several miles of the spot. It is thought that the discovered rock was transported from some other place to the point of discovery."

⁵ The original edition of Hakluyt was published in London, 1598-1600, in three volumes. In this edition Volume III is devoted to English voyages to North America. White's so-called "fourth voyage" is given in *ibid.*, 265 ff.; "the fifth voyage" in *ibid.*, 288 ff. Numerous editions of Hakluyt's classic work have been published. A convenient edition is that in Ernest Rhys (ed.), *Everyman's Library*, with an Introduction by John Masfield, 8 vols. (London, New York, 1907), reprinted in 1910 and 1926. Volume VI of this edition contains the materials bearing on Raleigh's North American ventures.

Practically all the source materials relating to the Roanoke colony are easily found in Henry S. Burrage (ed.), *Early English and French Voyages, Chiefly from Hakluyt, 1534-1608* (New York, 1910, reprinted 1932). The 1932 edition is a volume in J. Franklin Jameson (ed.), *Original Narratives of Early American History*.

The secondary literature of the Roanoke colony is extensive, and no effort is made to list it here. Stephen B. Weeks has a substantial bibliographical essay on the subject in "The Lost Colony of Roanoke: its Fate and Survival," in *American Historical Association Papers*, V (1891), 439-80. Among the secondary writers, Francis L. Hawks covers the subject most thoroughly in his *History of North Carolina*, 2 vols. (Fayetteville, N. C., 1857-1858). Volume I of Dr. Hawks' book contains nearly all of the source materials bearing on Raleigh's ventures in North Carolina. The same materials are covered in Rev. Increase Tarbox, *Sir Walter Raleigh's Colony in America*, Prince Society Publications

Amadas and Barlowe on a preliminary exploring trip to the Albermarle country in 1584.⁶ Barlowe's glowing description of the country secured knighthood for Raleigh and the name Virginia for the country. It was followed by the "first colonie," sent out by Raleigh in 1585. This colony was convoyed by Sir Richard Grenville, and left at Roanoke Island under Captain Ralph Lane. The "first colonie" did not strike roots in the soil. Discouraged after considerable exploration and conflict with the Indians, its members returned to England with Drake in 1586.⁷

Persisting in his efforts at colonization, Raleigh fitted out a "second colonie," which sailed from Plymouth in three ships on May 8, 1587. Raleigh named John White governor of this colony and "also appointed unto him twelve Assistants unto whom he gave a Charter, and incorporated them by the name of Governour and Assistants of the Citie of Raleigh in Virginia."⁸ This was the ill-fated colony destined to be known as the "Lost Colony of Roanoke," with the fate of which the message on the stone under examination is concerned.

The colonists went by way of the West Indies, where they encoun-

(Boston, 1884). William Wirt Henry summarizes the materials and lists bibliography in Justin Winsor (ed.), *Narrative and Critical History of America*, 8 vols. (Boston, 1886-1889), III, Chap. IV.

The text of the narratives in Burrage (ed.), *Early English and French Voyages*, has been compared with the Hakluyt text, and for convenience, unless otherwise indicated, will be cited in this article in supporting the narrative.

⁶ The voyage and death of Gilbert in 1583 is related by M. Edward Haies, "gentleman, and principall actour in the same voyage," in Burrage (ed.), *Early English and French Voyages*, 179-222. For Barlowe's narrative of the voyage of 1584, see *ibid.*, 227-41.

⁷ "The voiage made by Sir Richard Greenvile, for Sir Walter Raleigh, to Virginia, in the yeer 1585." Hakluyt, *Voyages*, VI, 132-39. This account lists the names of 107 persons who "remained one whole yeere in Virginia under the Government of Master Ralph Lane." For Lane's own account of the colony, see *ibid.*, 140-62; also available in Burrage (ed.), *Early English and French Voyages*, 246-71.

Thomas Hariot, a scientifically minded member of this colony, wrote a famous "briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia," which is available in many places. See Hakluyt, *Voyages*, VI, 164-96. Hariot's account was first published in 1588 with certain engravings, illustrating the land and natives of Virginia, by the Dutchman, Theodore De Brys. The originals of the engravings reproduced by De Brys are usually attributed to John White, later governor of the Lost Colony. See Thomas Hariot, *Narrative of the First English Plantation of Virginia; First printed at London 1588, now reproduced after De Bry's illustrated edition printed at Frankfort in 1590, the illustrations having been designed in Virginia in 1585 by John White* (London, 1893).

⁸ Burrage (ed.), *Early English and French Voyages*, 282.

tered misfortunes and narrow escapes, many of which were attributed by White to Simon Ferdinando, master of the *Admirall*, who in White's account did frequently and "lewdly" attempt to bring the colony to disaster.⁹ The colonists arrived off Hatteras on the twenty-second of July.¹⁰

It was the purpose of White to stop at Roanoke Island, pick up fifteen men whom Grenville had left there the previous year, and proceed on to the Chesapeake country, where Lane had recommended that Raleigh seat his colony in view of the poor "Harbours" and other disadvantages in the Albermarle sound country.¹¹ According to White, Ferdinando blocked this action and landed the colonists on Roanoke Island. White weakly records that "it booted not the Governour to contend with them, but passed to Roanoak," and so the unfortunate colonists, contrary to Raleigh's instructions, cast their lot on the island.¹²

Seeking out the northern end of the island where Lane had built his "forte," the colonists "found the forte rased downe, but all the houses standing unhurt, saving that the neather roomes of them, and also of the forte, were overgrown with Melons of divers sortes, and Deere within them, feeding." Of the fifteen men left by Grenville the previous year only the bones of one were found.¹³

White immediately put his men to work at "repayring" the houses and constructing new ones. On the twenty-eighth of July, George Howe, one of the colonists, while fishing with "a smal forked sticke" for "Crabs" was slain by savages from the mainland.¹⁴ Manteo, a friendly Croatoan Indian, who had gone to England with Amadas and Barlowe in 1584 and returned to America in 1585 with Grenville, befriended the Roanoke colony, attempting to mediate between them and

⁹ *Ibid.*, 283, 284, 285, 286. Ferdinando is variously called a Spaniard and Portuguese. Some have thought that he was in the pay of Spain. See Winsor (ed.), *Narrative and Critical History*, III, 113. Ralph Lane gives him a more favorable account in a letter to Walsingham. See E. E. Hale (ed.), *Archaeologia Americana*, 7 vols. (Worcester, Mass., 1820-1860), IV, 11.

¹⁰ Burrage (ed.), *Early English and French Voyages*, 287.

¹¹ For Lane's statement, see *ibid.*, 257, 258; for White's statement of purpose, *ibid.*, 287.

¹² *Ibid.*, 287.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 288.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 289. For the remains of English colonization on Roanoke Island, see paper by Talcott Williams, in American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1895, pp. 57-61.

the hostiles of the mainland, "Secotan, Aquascogoc and Pomeiok." In this he was indifferently successful. From Manteo's people on the neighboring island of Croatoan, the colonists learned the fate of the men left by Grenville.¹⁵

On the thirteenth of August Manteo, "by the commandement of Sir Walter Raleigh, was christened in Roanoak, and called Lord thereof, and of Dasamonguepeuk." Five days later "Elenor, daughter to the Governour, and wife to Ananais Dare one of the Assistants, was delivered of a daughter in Roanoak, and the same was christened there the Sonday following, and because this child was the first Christian borne in Virginia, shee was named Virginia."¹⁶

Soon thereafter controversy arose among the colonists as to who would return to England for supplies with "the Lion and the Flyboat almost ready to depart."¹⁷ The matter was resolved much against Governor White's will, according to his own account, by the decision that the Governor should return, as one most able to secure effectual aid. Before the Governor would consent to go he secured a written "bond" from the colonists, safeguarding his own property, and setting forth the pressure exerted upon him by the colonists. On the twenty-seventh of August the *Admirall* and the *Flyboat* set sail with White on board the latter.¹⁸

When White reached England in November, 1587, the danger of Spanish invasion overshadowed every other matter. Raleigh, Grenville, and Lane were bending every effort toward English preparation for the dreaded visitation.¹⁹ However, even in these dire straits, Raleigh endeavored to succor his colonists. In the spring of 1588, a small fleet was outfitted to be commanded by Sir Richard Grenville. Before it could sail, the government impressed all ships in English harbors. Despite this, Raleigh's influence, great with the Queen at this time, enabled

¹⁵ Burrage (ed.), *Early English and French Voyages*, 290. Two had been slain and the others driven from the island by Wingino's men "dwelling at Dasamonguepeuk."

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 293.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* The *Lion* was known as the "Admirall," the largest boat in the expedition, "a shippe of one hundred and twentie Tunnes." *Ibid.*, 295.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ Winsor (ed.), *Narrative and Critical History*, III, 114.

Governor White to sail for Virginia with two vessels on April 22, 1588.²⁰ These vessels soon encountered Spanish ships and were so badly worsted in a sea fight that they returned to England. In the following year Raleigh made another attempt to send relief to the Roanoke colonists, but failed.²¹

It was not until March, 1590, that White, with all of Raleigh's influence, was able to get away again to the relief of his colonists, and then under unfavorable circumstances.²² Three ships belonging to John Watts, a London merchant, ready for a voyage to the West Indies but detained by existing regulations from sailing, were released through Raleigh's influence on condition that they convey White and "a convenient number of passengers, with their furnitures and necessities to be landed in Virginia." In their impatience to be off "to seeke after purchase and spoiles," the ships cleared from Plymouth without allowing White time to secure "passengers," "furnitures," or "necessaries," "no not so much as a boy to attend upon me." Moreover, the expedition, "regarding very smally the good of their countrey men in Virginia," passed precious weeks seeking Spanish treasure in the West Indies, not arriving off Hatteras until August 15, when "the season was so unfit and weather so foule" that searching operations were difficult.²³

White was cheered on first coming to anchor off Hatteras by seeing "a great smoke rise in the Ile Roanoak neere the place where I left our Colony in the yeere 1587." On the sixteenth of August, after causing guns to be shot off on the "Admirall" to give notice of approach, landing operations were begun. Before reaching Roanoke Island "another great smoke to the Southwest of Kindrikers mountes" directed the land-

²⁰ For Raleigh's influence at the court at this time, see Edward Edwards, *The Life of Sir Walter Raleigh; Together with his Letters*, 2 vols. (London, 1868), especially, I, 41-43.

²¹ For these efforts, see Winsor (ed.), *Narrative and Critical History*, III, 114; Burrage (ed.), *Early English and French Voyages*, 303; Alexander Brown, *Genesis of the United States*, 2 vols. (Boston, New York, 1890), I, 19.

²² The confusion in dating White's last voyage arises from the fact that under the Julian calendar, the New Year was dated from March 25, "Lady Day." White sailed from Plymouth March 20, 1590. The Gregorian calendar, introduced in Europe in 1582, but not adopted in England until 1752, conforms to our practice. Hence White left England in 1590, i.e., March 20, 1591, under modern usage.

²³ Burrage (ed.), *Early English and French Voyages*, 305-306.

ing party to an adjacent island, and the day was spent seeking out this smoke; but White records, "when we came to the smoke, we found no man nor signe that any had been there lately."²⁴ On the seventeenth another landing operation was undertaken. In the process one of the two small boats was upset in the "dangerous Sea," and seven of the eleven men composing its crew were drowned.²⁵ The nineteen survivors, four rescued from the overturned craft, and fifteen including White from the boat which escaped wreckage, reached safety on the leeward of the island, but as darkness had fallen a landing was not attempted until daybreak (August 18). However, espying a great fire toward the north end of the island, they rowed near the shore "right over against it." From this position they sounded trumpets and sang "many familiar English tunes of Songs," but without results.²⁶

At daybreak they landed and "coming to the fire, we found the grasse and sundry rotten trees burning about the place." They then sought the site where the colony had been seated. From this point White's narrative becomes so significant that it must be quoted word for word:

In all this way we saw in the sand the print of the Salvages feet of 2 or 3 sorts trodden the night, and as we entred up the sandy banke upon a tree, in the very browe thereof were curiously carved these faire Romane letters C R O: which letters presently we knew to signifie the place, where I should find the planters seated, according to a secret token agreed upon betweene them and me at my last departure from them, which was, that in any wayes they should not faile to write or carve on the trees or posts of the dores the name of the place where they should be seated; for at my coming away they were prepared to remove from Roanoak 50 miles into the maine. Therefore at my departure from them in An. 1587 I willed them, that if they should happen to be distressed in any of those places, that then they should carve over the letters or name, a Crosse ☒ in this forme, but we found no such signe of distresse. And having well considered of this, we passed toward the place where they were left in sundry houses, but we found the houses taken downe, and the place very strongly enclosed with a high palisado of great trees, with cortynes and flankers very Fort-like, and one of the chiefe trees or postes at the right side of the entrance had the barke taken off, and 5 foote from the ground in fayre Capitall letters was

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 314-15.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 316.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 317.

graven CROATOAN without any crosse or signe of distresse; this done, we entred into the palisado, where we found many barres of iron, two pigges of Lead, foure yron fowlers, Iron sacker-shotte, and such like heaue things, thrown here and there, almost overgrown with grasse and weeds. From thence wee went along by the water side, towards the poynte of the Creeke to see if we could find any of their botes or Pinnisse, but we could perceiue no signe of them, nor any of the last Falkons and small Ordinance which were left with them, at my departure from them. At our returne from the Creeke, some of our Saylers meeting us, told us that they had found where diuers chests had bene hidden, and long sithence digged up againe and broken up, and much of the goods in them spoyled and scattered about, but nothing left, of such things as the Savages knew any use of, undefaced. Presently Captain Cooke and I went to the place, which was in the end of an olde trench, made two yeeres past by Captaine Amadas where we found five Chests, that had been carefully hidden of the Planters, and of the same chests three were my owne, and about the place many of my things spoyled and broken, and my bookes torne from the covers, the frames of some of my pictures and Mappes rotten and spoyled with rayne, and my armour almost eaten through with rust; this could be no other but the deed of the Savages our enemies at Dasamonguepeuk, who had watched the departure of our men to Croatoan; and assoone as they were departed digged up every place where they suspected anything to be buried: but although it much grieved me to see such spoyle of my goods, yet on the other side I greatly joyed that I had safely found a certaine token of their safe being at Croatoan, which is the place where Manteo was borne, and the Savages of the Iland our friends.²⁷

Disappointed at not finding his colonists but cheered at the evidence which seemed to indicate their safe removal to Croatoan, White and his party returned to their ships as the weather grew overcast. It was agreed on the next morning that the ships should "goe for the place at Croatoan." A start was made to this end, but the weather proved stormy, the cable broke, several anchors were lost, the "victuals" were "scarse," and a "caske of fresh water" was lost in the general confusion, so that the Captain determined to run for the West Indies, and return the next spring. Pursuing this course, southward, a stormy "West and Northwest" wind blew so forcibly on the twenty-eighth that the Captain was driven to change his course directly for England.²⁸ And so Captain White sailed away forever from his Roanoke colonists and does not figure again in the record, though Raleigh sent at least

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 317-18.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 319-20.

one more unsuccessful relief expedition before the walls of the Tower closed upon him.²⁹

There is no record that the Roanoke colonists were ever seen by white men again; but at least five references to their survival and fate occur in the early writings of the Jamestown colonists.

(1) According to William Strachey, secretary to the colony, it was reported to the Jamestown colonists that Powhatan, instigated by his priests, had caused the Roanoke colonists to be massacred. From this massacre *seven* persons were reported to have escaped, and fled up the *Chowan* River, where they were preserved by a chief named Eyanoco. These seven were said to have been four men, two boys, and a maid.³⁰ Strachey also writes:

At Peccarecamek and Ochanahen . . . the people have houses built with stone walls, and one story above another so taught them by those English who escaped the slaughter at Roanoak, at which time this our Colony under the conduct of Captain Newport landed within the Chespeake Bay.³¹

(2) Captain John Smith says in his *True Relation* that Opechanca-nough informed him "of certaine men cloathed at a place called Ocanahanan, cloathed like me." Smith also relates that "we had agreed with the King of Paspahough to conduct two of our men to a place called Panawicke beyond Roonok where he reported many men apparelled."³²

(3) A map, presumably sent by Captain Francis Nelson to England about 1608 to illustrate Smith's *True Relation*, shows three rivers, evidently the Roanoke, the Tar, and the Neuse.³³ On the south side of the Roanoke is a place designated "ocanahowan" (evidently the Ochahanen of Strachey's narrative, and the Ocanahanan of Smith's). On

²⁹ For Captain Samuel Mace's expedition of 1602, see Winsor (ed.), *Narrative and Critical History*, III, 116.

³⁰ William Strachey, *The Historie of Travaile into Virginia, Britannia* (R. H. Major [ed.], Hakluyt Society Publication [London, 1849]), 26. The editor places the date of the *Historie* as between 1612 and 1616.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² Edward Arber (ed.), *Capt. John Smith . . . Works, 1608-1631* (Birmingham, Eng., 1884), 17-23.

³³ Map printed in Brown, *Genesis of the United States*, I, 184-85. For a discussion of the map, see Weeks, "The Lost Colony of Roanoke," *loc. cit.*, 468.

the upper waters of the Neuse is "pakrakanick" (evidently the Pec-carecamek of Strachey's report), and near it is inscribed the legend: "here remayneth 4 *men* clothed that came from roonock to ocana-howan." The peninsula known to the Roanoke colonists as Dasamonguepeuk is designated "pananiock" (evidently the Panawicke of Smith's story), and a legend placed there recites: "Here the King of paspahege reported our men to be and wants to go." At a point on James River the map says: "Here paspahege and 2 of our men landed to go to panaweock" (the Pananiock of the map, and Panawicke of Smith).³³

(4) In a pamphlet called a "True and Sincere Declaration of the Managers of Virginia" occurs the reference to "some of our Nation planted by *Sir Walter Raleigh*, yet a live within fifty mile of our fort . . . as is testified by two of our colony sent out to seek them, who, (though denied by the savages speech with them) found *crosses* and *Letters* the *Characters* and assured Testimonies of *Christians* newly cut in the bark of trees."³⁴ This is evidently a reference to the journey undertaken by "Pasphege and 2 of our men," mentioned in the legend on the Smith map. The mission failed of its objective, probably due to the reluctance of the savages to allow the Jamestown colonists to contact the Roanoke survivors, whose services in "beating copper" for their Indian captors were highly valued.³⁵

(5) Finally, Sir Thomas Gates was instructed in 1609 by the Virginia Council to seek out the Roanoke River country, for which purpose he was given minute directions. The land thereabouts, he was told, was rich in valuable copper mines, near which he was instructed: "you shall finde foure of the englishe aliue, left by Sr Walter Rawely wch escaped from the slaughter of Powhaton of Roanocke, vpon the first arrivall of our Colonie, and liue vnder the proteccon of a wiroane³⁶ called Gepanocon [compare Eyanoco in the Strachey version] enemy of Powhaton, by whose consent you shall neuer recouer them, one of

³⁴ Printed in Brown, *Genesis of the United States*, I, 348.

³⁵ See Strachey, *Historie of Travaile into Virginia*, 26; and instructions from the Virginia Council to Sir Thomas Gates, *post*.

³⁶ A variable usage for werowance, meaning Indian chief.

these were worth much labour, and if you finde them not, yet search into this Countrey, it is more pbable then towards the north.”³⁷

These varied references have it in common that they are all based upon Indian report. No Jamestown colonist ever saw or spoke with a Roanoke survivor, so far as the records reveal. However, cumulatively, the reports suggest the strong probability of truth. If the message from Eleanor Dare on the stone under examination is genuine, the four survivors so persistently reported to the Jamestown people may have been four of those who survived the massacre as she records it on the stone, for they would have been in the region indicated, “where the River Choanowki [Chowan] falleth into the sea of Rawnocke” (Albemarle Sound), in the language of the Virginia Council’s directions to Gates.³⁸

Assuming that the Dare stone is genuine, and records an authentic message from Eleanor Dare to her father, it would seem that the following facts as regards the Roanoke colony are established:

(1) The colonists did not go to the island of Croatoan as has been usually assumed by historians.

(2) The colonists did not go to the mainland opposite Roanoke island, which was known to them as Dasamonguepeuk, and is the present Dare County, North Carolina.

(3) The colonists did go inland to the lower reaches of the east bank of the Chowan River.

(4) The colonists for two years, 1587-1589, suffered “onlie misarie & warre,” and in two more years were reduced by sickness to “fourre & twentie.”

(5) Of these twenty-four, all but seven were massacred by the Indians in 1591.

³⁷ Susan M. Kingsbury (ed.), *The Records of the Virginia Company of London*, 4 vols. (Washington, 1933), III, 17.

³⁸ Weeks, “The Lost Colony of Roanoke,” *loc. cit.*, 467 ff., uses the first four of these reports, with later eighteenth century references to bearded and peculiar people encountered in various sections of North Carolina, to build up the thesis that the Croatans of Robeson County are descendants of the Roanoke colonists. If the message on the Dare stone is authentic, it would seem that this thesis is hardly tenable.

(6) Among those massacred were Ananias and Virginia Dare, and among the survivors was Eleanor White Dare.

(7) The massacre, as was later reported to the Jamestown people, was instigated by the priests, who, in Eleanor's language, "faine spirts angrie."

(8) The approximate burial place of the massacred colonists was a small hill, four miles east of the Chowan River, on which a rock inscribed with their names was placed.

Among the questions not cleared up by the stone are the following:

(1) The names of the six other persons surviving the massacre with Eleanor Dare and their ultimate fate.

(2) Why was Croatoan carved on the palisade door as reported by White?

(3) Why did not Eleanor Dare state her exact whereabouts in the message inscribed on the stone?

The authenticity of this stone can never be fully and finally established without further corroborative evidence. However, it is pertinent to indicate certain particulars in which the message on the stone checks with the available historical records.

(1) White reported seeing smoke on Roanoke Island and other evidences that Indians were in the vicinity. He must have been observed by savage eyes. This links with the statement on the stone, "Salvage with message of shipp unto us."

(2) White relates in his narrative that the palisade on the island had been plundered, his chests pillaged, and his possessions despoiled. Eleanor writes in her message that the savages "affrite of revenge ran al awaye." The savages may well have feared punishment because of the plundered camp site.

(3) Eleanor writes of the ship which came to the isle: "wee bleeve yt nott you." It probably seemed unthinkable to the colonists that White would abandon the search for his kith and kin so quickly.

(4) White writes that at his departure in 1587 "they were prepared to remove from Roanoak 50 miles in the maine." The movement to the Chowan was in line with this plan.

(5) The probability of the Chowan area as a desirable site for removal is strengthened by the following statement made by Lane in his report to Raleigh regarding his 1586 operations:

My purpose was to have relied myself with Menatonon, and the Chaonists, who in trueth as they are more valiant people and in greater number than the rest, so are they more faithfull in their promises, and since my late being there had given many tokens of earnest desire they had to *joyne in perfect league*³⁹ with us, and therefore were greatly offended with Pemisapan and Weopomeiok for making him beleieve such tales of us.⁴⁰

Since the Chaonists (or Chawanooks) were so well disposed in 1586, as attested by Lane, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the colonists may have sought them out a little later.

(6) Eleanor's message checks in two particulars with Strachey's version of the colonists' fate: all were murdered save seven, and the priests are represented as having been the instigators of the massacre. Strachey's report and the Dare message agree in placing the survivors in the Chowan River area, but Eleanor adds that the massacre took place along the Chowan.

(7) There is nothing incompatible between the message conveyed on the stone, and the persistent reports of "certaine men cloathed" in the Roanoke River country. If such persons really existed in 1607-1610, they could easily have been the survivors of the Chowan massacre, who perhaps were prevented by the Indians, for reasons of their own, from reaching the Jamestown settlers.

Regarding the spelling of the message it is not believed that any serious difficulty is presented. Language in the Elizabethan period was in a transition stage, and usage, from our modern viewpoint, very erratic. Precedents have been found in the spelling and usage of the period for all cases except five: *misarie* (lines 1 and 11), *beine* (line 5), *affrite* (line 7), *bleeve* (line 8), and *spirts* (line 9). Considering these in order:

³⁹ Author's italics.

⁴⁰ Burrage (ed.), *Early English and French Voyages*, 264-65. Pemisapan was the Indian king on the mainland directly opposite Roanoke, and hostile to the English. He had changed his name from Wingina on the death of his brother, Granganimo, who had been friendly to the English. *Ibid.*, 252.

(1) The spelling "miserie" is common in the period for misery. The usage "misarie" may be a variation due to ignorance or inadvertence. (2) In the rendition "beine," it is possible the last letter *e* has been mistaken for a final *g*, or the spelling may have conformed to the sound, which often omits the final *g*, as in "huntin," "fishin," and the like. (3) The writer has found no precedent for the usage of "affrite," as in this case. (4) The spelling "beleeve" is common in the period. The form "bleeve" may be due to an omission of an *e* in the first syllable, or to conformation to the sound, which often omits or slurs the *e* (i.e., bleeve). (5) Clearly an *i* is omitted in the word "spirts."

There are many instances in Elizabethan practice of the use of the Latin cross and the Arabic numerals, as in the inscription of 1591.⁴¹ A woman's signature with three initials, in the period, presents more difficulty. Numerous instances exist where two initials were used by women in signing documents, but the writer has not found an instance where three occurred.⁴²

Finally, the question arises as to how the inscription was cut in the stone. Extensive tests are being conducted by those investigating the matter. Efforts are being made to produce inscriptions on similar stone by various methods. These methods have included sandblasting, drills, and acids. None has so far been successful. Men experienced in stonecutting who have been consulted are not unanimous, but the prevailing opinion is that the stone *could* have been chiseled with tools or instruments which it is reasonable to suppose were possessed by the Roanoke colonists.⁴³

⁴¹ Thomas Dingley (comp.), *History of Marble*, 2 vols. (Westminster, Eng., 1847), I, 33, 34, 36, 48, 50; II, 349. The compilation was made in the reign of Charles II.

⁴² See James Gardner (ed.), *The Paston Letters*, 3 vols. (London, 1900-1908). Margaret and Agnes Paston consistently signed their letters with two initials throughout this voluminous correspondence. See, also, Hubert Hall, *Society in the Elizabethan Age* (London, 1886), 254, 256, 258; and Agnes Strickland, *Memoirs of Elizabeth* (Philadelphia, 1853), 161, 349, 463, 464.

⁴³ Experienced stonecutters at Stone Mountain, Georgia, and other nearby points were interviewed about this question. They state that stonecutting tools have come down from the Elizabethan period with little change, other than the amount of alloy in the tools. Such tools must have been available to the Roanoke colonists.

Banking and the Credit System in Georgia, 1810-1860

By THOMAS P. GOVAN

Students of Southern economic history have concentrated their attention on the workings of the plantation slave economy to such an extent that the full importance of the mercantile and credit system is seldom realized. Credit was essential to the commercial agriculture that was the basis of the economy of Georgia and the South prior to the Civil War. Georgia planters using slave labor raised cotton and rice for an indefinite market in the North and Europe. They went into debt to purchase land and Negroes, received advances from factors and merchants for the necessary expenses of the growing season, and sold their crops to purchasers using funds supplied by the banks on the security of the shipments of the same cotton and rice.

Merchants and planters were fully aware of their dependence on credit and consequently were continually agitating for an increase in the number and capital of the banks of Georgia.¹ "Credit," writing in the *Macon Georgia Messenger* in 1838, said:

Granting the present imperfections of the banking system we owe to them, abused as they are, our canals, our railroads, our steam vessels. . . . Without them, one half of our national wealth would never have existed. Without them, the wilds of the South and Southwest would not have been cultivated, as they now are, for a century to come.²

¹ "Southern Trade—No. 5," in Milledgeville *Southern Recorder*, quoted in *Macon Georgia Messenger*, October 4, 1838; Report of Robert Y. Hayne to the Charleston Commercial Convention, 1839, in *De Bow's Review* (New Orleans, 1846-1880), IV (1847), 351-53; Report of the Commercial Convention of the State of Georgia, 1838, in *Macon Georgia Messenger*, November 22, 1838.

² "Proposition on Banks, Currency and Credit," by "Credit," in *Macon Georgia Messenger*, September 20, 1838.

On the other hand there was a substantial group in Georgia who distrusted all financial institutions, and who insisted that the emission of paper money by the banks was responsible for the alternating periods of prosperity and crisis. The members of this group said that they desired a hard-money currency, but, paradoxically, they were the ones who forced the state-owned Central Bank to issue such large amounts of its notes for the relief of the people of the state that it became financially involved and was forced to close.³

Governor John Clark seems to have been the first openly to express this distrust of banks when, in 1822, he said that "nothing would be more inconsistent with the manliness of the republican character" than "an enervating dependence on the monied institutions." The following year, in his annual message to the general assembly, he added:

The opinion even now almost universally prevails, that the pecuniary embarrassments of the citizens is greater in proportion as you approach the vicinity of a bank. If this be true, it certainly shows that they are pernicious to the people, and if the right has not already passed from your hands, it would be a wise precaution to remove the evil ere the anticipated consequences assume a more serious character.⁴

The supporters of Clark in Georgia used his name to identify the political party to which they belonged until they began to call themselves Democrats as a symbol of their allegiance to the national party of Andrew Jackson. Their principal strength was in the newer and less wealthy sections of the state, and they were principally small farmers.⁵ The governors, Wilson Lumpkin, Charles J. McDonald, and Joseph E. Brown, who were the most virulent in their attacks upon the evils of the banking and credit system, were members of this party, which, at its convention in 1841, pledged itself to a "thorough and radical reform of the Banking system."⁶

³ Annual Message of Governor Wilson Lumpkin, in *Journal of the Senate of the General Assembly of Georgia* (hereafter cited as *Georgia Senate Journal*), 1834, p. 20; Annual Message of Governor Charles J. McDonald, *ibid.*, 1842, pp. 9-13.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1822, pp. 56-57; 1823, pp. 14-15.

⁵ Ulrich B. Phillips, *Georgia and State Rights* (Washington, 1902), 104-108.

⁶ Macon *Georgia Messenger*, May 13, 1841. See, also, Annual Message of Governor Charles J. McDonald, in *Georgia Senate Journal*, 1841, pp. 9-14; Wilson Lumpkin, *The Removal of the Cherokee Indians from Georgia*, 2 vols. (New York, 1907), I, 156; I. W. Avery, *The History of the State of Georgia from 1850 to 1881* (New York, 1881), 49-50.

In spite of this expressed hostility to banks by the members of the Clark-Democratic party, however, the need for credit facilities was so strong that it is difficult to find any substantial difference between their actions in regard to the banks, and those of their opponents, the supporters of the Crawford-Troup-Whig party in Georgia. The latter were as a general rule large plantation owners, merchants, and bankers, and were looked upon as the defenders of the established banking system. Nevertheless, banks were chartered under precisely the same provisions by legislatures controlled by Democrats or Whigs, and both parties seemed equally zealous in passing regulatory legislation in regard to these institutions.

The first bank in the state was the Planters' Bank of the State of Georgia in Savannah. Its charter was originally granted in 1807, but was withdrawn and a new charter issued in 1810, the same year in which the Bank of Augusta was also organized under the authority of the state. Prior to this time the planters and merchants of Georgia had been dependent upon the Savannah branch of the first Bank of the United States and the banks of Charleston, South Carolina, for credit facilities.⁷

The state authorities were anxious to have these institutions for the convenience of the merchants and planters, and the state itself supplied part of the capital for both banks, reserving \$100,000 of the authorized \$1,000,000 capital stock of the Planters' Bank, and \$50,000 of the \$300,000 of the Bank of Augusta for its own subscription. This investment in bank stock proved to be profitable. The dividends received in 1815 were alone nearly sufficient to take care of the entire expense of the civil list. This led the citizens of Georgia to believe that if more banks were organized on the basis of the state's capital the income from this source would be sufficient "to defray the ordinary expenses of government,"⁸ as well as to provide the additional banking facilities that their experience in the War of 1812 had shown to be necessary.

⁷ Oliver H. Prince, *A Digest of the Laws of the State of Georgia* . . . (Athens, 1837), 50-55; Lucius Q. C. Lamar, *A Compilation of the Laws of Georgia Passed by the Legislature from the Year 1810 to the Year 1819, Inclusive* (Augusta, 1821), 74-82.

⁸ Milledgeville *Georgia Journal*, December 13, 1815, quoted in Niles' *Weekly Register* (Baltimore, 1811-1849), IX (1816), 319-20.

By 1815 the state had a large surplus in its treasury which had been accumulated over a period of years from four sources: (1) the confiscation and sale of property during the Revolution; (2) the sale of public lands belonging to the state; (3) payments received on the \$1,250,000 which had been the compensation for Georgia's cession of its western lands to the United States in 1802; and (4) the regular income from taxation.⁹

As a result the Bank of the State of Georgia was chartered on December 16, 1815, and the Bank of Darien was established three years later. Six hundred thousand dollars of the authorized capital of the Bank of the State of Georgia, and five hundred thousand of the Bank of Darien were reserved for state subscription. This ownership of stock gave to the state the right of appointing two of the thirteen directors of the Bank of Augusta; two of the thirteen of the Planters' Bank; six of the fifteen of the Bank of the State of Georgia; and five of the ten of the Bank of Darien.

A branch of the second Bank of the United States at Savannah was added in 1816. At first the banks, as well as the other economic groups within the state, welcomed the establishment of this branch. It was felt that the increase in the supply of credit and the economies in exchange which would result from its operations would be of advantage to the state banks and to the planters and merchants. The Planters' Bank went so far as to subscribe to four thousand shares of the United States Bank stock.¹⁰

There was no evidence of hostility between the Georgia banks and the Bank of the United States during the lax administration of the bank by its first president, William Jones. However, the results of his policies forced his successor, Langdon Cheves, to resort to measures that brought an end to this period of friendship and peaceful relations.

The government revenue was largely collected in the East, and, as a

⁹ *Report of the Commissioners Appointed on the Subject of the State Finances* (Mill-edgeville, 1839), 11-37.

¹⁰ R. Richardson to Langdon Cheves, July 16, 1820; Report of the Joint Committee of the Planters' Bank and the Bank of the State of Georgia, June 21, 1820, in *American State Papers* (fol. ed., hereafter cited as *A. S. P.*), *Finance*, IV, 937-38, 1055-56.

consequence, the balance of exchange was in favor of the East and against the South and West. In spite of this Jones had permitted the branch banks to emit large issues of notes which were receivable by the government and the main bank in Philadelphia. These notes naturally followed the normal course of exchange and were continually being presented to the parent bank on deposit and in payments. The capital and specie of the principal bank consequently had to be used, in effect, to redeem these notes issued by the branches. In this way the branches were freed from the responsibility of redemption and issued ever larger amounts of notes, so that the capital of the bank was drained from the East to the South and West, and from the principal bank to its branches.¹¹

The national bank, as a result of this policy, was in a critical condition when Cheves took over its administration. It was, according to Catterall, "almost without specie," and "there was a general expectation that the bank was about to suspend specie payment."¹² One of the first moves of the new president was to order the Southern and Western officers to refrain from the emission of notes. They were then directed to collect the balances due them from the state banks, and to refuse, in as great a degree as was possible, to enter into any new engagements.¹³

These measures in themselves would probably not have placed any particular strain upon the state banks of Georgia, if it had not been for the complicating effect of the sales of the public lands of the United States in Alabama. The purchasers of these lands used the state bank notes of Georgia, which were accepted by the public land offices, after the branches of the United States Bank had ceased to issue their notes. These state notes were then transmitted by the government depository in Alabama to the Savannah branch for deposit. The expenditures of the Federal government in Georgia did not equal the amount of revenue deposited in the Savannah branch, and the surplus had to be transferred to the East. The branch could not use these state bank notes to purchase exchange because it had been forbidden to make any new engagements,

¹¹ Ralph C. H. Catterall, *The Second Bank of the United States* (Chicago, 1903), 34-35, 68-70.

¹² *Ibid.*, 68-69.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 70-71, 73.

so it was forced to present the notes of the Georgia banks regularly to them for redemption in specie to be transmitted to the East.¹⁴

This systematic demand for redemption of their notes forced the state banks to curtail their discounts, restrain their circulation, and make regular importations of specie. This was not only an additional expense to the state banks, but it also prevented them from supplying the merchants and planters of the state with the necessary credit facilities for the carrying on of their accustomed business.¹⁵ The local bankers either did not understand, or did not believe that the national bank had been forced into these measures, because they immediately began to charge that the policy had been inaugurated with the deliberate intent of destroying them.¹⁶

Finally the two Savannah banks, the Planters' Bank and the Bank of the State of Georgia, refused to submit any longer to these periodic demands, and, in the summer of 1821, notified the branch of the United States Bank that they would refuse to redeem any of their notes that the branch might present to them in the future.¹⁷ These banks, however, continued to pay specie to individuals while refusing it to the Bank of the United States. They were permitted to do this because the legislature, apparently worried by the difficulties the planters and merchants had been having in marketing their crops on account of the shortage of credit, had the previous year suspended the law allowing twenty-five per cent damages for a refusal to redeem bills in specie as far as that act applied to the United States Bank. In December, 1821, the legislature further exempted the state banks from paying interest on such notes held by the United States Bank.¹⁸

¹⁴ Thomas Cumming, President of the Bank of Augusta, to William H. Crawford, June 30, 1819; Report of the Board of Directors of the Bank of the United States on the Savannah situation, May 30, 1820; Crawford to Richardson, President of the Planters' Bank, August 7, 1821, in *A. S. P., Finance*, IV, 697-98, 931, 1040.

¹⁵ Richardson to Robert Campbell, June 25, 1821, *ibid.*, 1070.

¹⁶ Report of the Joint Committee of the Planters' Bank and the Bank of the State of Georgia, June 21, 1820, *ibid.*, 1055-56.

¹⁷ Richardson to Campbell, June 25, 1821; *id.* to Crawford, July 21, 1821; Langdon Cheves to *id.*, August 25, 1821, *ibid.*, 957-58, 1068-70.

¹⁸ William C. Dawson, *A Compilation of the Laws of the State of Georgia, Passed by the General Assembly, Since the Year 1819 to the Year 1829, Inclusive* (Milledgeville, 1831), 70, 70-71.

The state banks immediately took advantage of these provisions. As a consequence the United States Bank was no longer able to accept the notes of any of the state banks in payment or on deposit, for it had no way to force the state banks to redeem such notes after they had come into its possession. In the meantime William H. Crawford, secretary of the treasury, had been trying to find some way in which he could bring this conflict between the national and state banks to an end. As a Georgia planter and attorney he realized the serious effect the restrictive credit policy, forced upon the state banks by the policy of the national bank, was having on the marketing of the staple crops; but, as secretary of the treasury, charged with the duty of attending to the safe collection and transfer of the national revenues, he realized the necessity of this policy. In a letter to the head of the Planters' Bank he said that the basis of the controversy was "in no degree ascribable to the bank," but was the result of the operations of the government.¹⁹ But, in an attempt to remedy the worst effects of the situation he ordered the collectors of public revenue and the government depositories in Alabama to deposit all of the notes of the state banks of Georgia and South Carolina in the Bank of Darien, which had agreed "to transfer them to Philadelphia or New York upon terms that will relieve the Bank of the United States from that burden, and greatly diminish the collision which has more than once occurred between it and those institutions."²⁰

This arrangement, and the almost complete withdrawal of the Savannah branch of the United States Bank from active business, ended the controversy between the state and national banks. The Bank of Darien was located at Darien on the mouth of Altamaha River about seventy miles from Savannah. In contrast to the branch of the United States Bank it expanded its discounts and purchases of bills of exchange greatly on the basis of the government deposits. Its notes were consequently widely distributed over the interior of the state by traders who used them to purchase the cotton and other produce of the country. These notes were carried to Augusta and Savannah by the planters and mer-

¹⁹ Crawford to Richardson, August 7, 1821, in *A. S. P., Finance*, IV, 697-98.

²⁰ *Id.* to the President of the Bank of Darien, May 2, 1821; *id.* to the Cashier of the Office of Discount and Deposit at Savannah, May 23, 1821, *ibid.*, 690.

chants of the interior for the purchase of supplies, so that when it became necessary for the Bank of Darien to make demands for redemption upon the banks located in these towns, they were able to redeem their notes with notes of the Bank of Darien without having to give up their specie or curtail their accommodations to their customers.

Finally, in December, 1824, the legislature again permitted the United States Bank to force the state banks to redeem their notes,²¹ and the Savannah branch once more began to make discounts, issue notes, and purchase bills of exchange. The government again began to place its deposits in the branch, but the receipts from land sales in Alabama had decreased, and this placed no particular strain on any of the state banks except the Bank of Darien. This bank, however, had expanded its note issues on the basis of the government deposits, and, when these were taken away, it no longer had the current means to redeem them. As a result it was forced to suspend specie payments in the spring of 1825.²²

This controversy between the national and state banks, and the effects of the panic of 1818 to 1820, had together prevented the state from realizing as much income from its investment in bank stock as had been expected. The small farmers of the interior were complaining that they were unable to get adequate accommodation from the existing banks, and that the costs of credit were too high. For these reasons Governor Clark, in 1823, recommended that the state withdraw its investment from the private banks and establish a state-owned bank, the revenue from which, he said, "would in the course of a few years, be sufficient, if not entirely, measurably to relieve the citizens from taxation, enable the state to progress advantageously in internal improvements, and perfect its system of public education, all of which are subjects highly interesting, and promising lasting benefits to the state."²³

²¹ Dawson, *Laws of the State of Georgia*, 71.

²² *Georgia House Journal* (extra session), 1825, p. 9. This suspension continued until 1829 when the bank resumed operations on a restricted basis, but it was again forced to suspend operations in 1841 and its charter was forfeited. Most of the private stockholders in the meantime had turned in their stock in settlement of obligations to the bank, and the state, as almost the only remaining stockholder, paid off all the creditors in 1854. This bank, probably because of the large interest of the state government in it, was an object of much political controversy during its entire career.

²³ *Ibid.*, 1823, pp. 15-16.

Five years later, 1828, the Central Bank at Milledgeville was chartered. Its capital, according to its charter, was to consist of:

the money in the treasury of the State, not otherwise appropriated; the shares owned by the State in the Bank of Augusta, in the Planters' Bank of the State of Georgia, in the Bank of the State of Georgia, and in the Bank of Darien; and all bonds, notes, specialties, judgments due the State; and all moneys arising from the sales of fractions and town lots heretofore made (and hereafter to be made); and all other debts and moneys at any time due the State.²⁴

All taxes and other incomes of the state were deposited in the bank, and all appropriations were paid by the checks of the treasurer upon it. The bank was authorized to discount notes and purchase bills of exchange, but the loans were to be distributed as equitably as possible among the citizens of the state, and were to be apportioned to the various counties in accordance with their population. Interest was limited to six per cent per annum, and no individual was permitted to borrow more than \$2,500. The loans had to be endorsed by two or more responsible parties. They were to run for a period of five years, though each note had to be renewed every six months.²⁵

It was realized that these five-year loans were not the proper basis for a bank of circulation, and even though the bank was given the power to issue notes, they were limited to the "aggregate of the specie and bills of the other chartered banks of this State and the bills of the Bank of the United States in its vaults." This prevented the bank from increasing the net circulating medium in the state and assured the holders of its notes of immediate redemption.

The bank operated successfully on this basis until 1839. It supplemented the work of the commercial banks by furnishing credit to persons who could not get accommodation from the other institutions at such low rates, that the poorer classes of the state were able to purchase homes and farms. It advanced money to the state to meet the appropriations of the legislature, and for the building of the state-owned Western and Atlantic Railroad, and also served as an efficient instrument for the collection of debts owing to the state.

²⁴ Dawson, *Laws of the State of Georgia*, 86-87.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

In the spring of 1837, when all other banks in the state were having to curtail their activities and call in their loans on account of the tightness of the financial markets, the effects of the crisis were mitigated by the Central Bank discounting notes to the amount of \$600,000. It was able to do this because of the deposit in its vaults of Georgia's share of the surplus revenue of the Federal government.²⁶ The Democratic supporters of the Central Bank ignored the fortuitous circumstance that enabled the bank to afford this relief to the people of the state, and argued that if the bank were permitted to issue its notes in the same manner and to the same extent as the commercial banks, that it could continue to aid the people during the depression that followed the crisis of the spring of 1837.²⁷ Two years later, the general assembly, under the control of the Democrats, authorized the bank to issue notes to the extent of twice the amount of its capital stock; to sell the stock of the other banks of the state if par could be obtained; and to refuse to redeem its bills in specie when presented by banks which had themselves suspended specie payments.²⁸

Immediately after the passage of these amendments to its charter the Central Bank began freely to emit bank notes, and suspended specie payments. It issued \$100,000 to pay the salaries of the members of the legislature, and made loans to the people of the state, which added to those already made in 1837 and 1838, amounted to \$1,005,000. In addition it paid out on appropriations of the legislature \$1,464,579.76, spent \$700,000 for the state-owned Western and Atlantic Railroad, and lent the same road \$325,000.²⁹

The collections on the five-year loans of the bank and on the debts due the state were not sufficient to provide the means for the redemption of this large amount of notes. Consequently they depreciated rapidly, and in 1841 the bank was directed not to make additional loans until it

²⁶ *Acts of the General Assembly of the State of Georgia* (hereafter cited as *Georgia Acts*), 1836, pp. 19-20; *Georgia Senate Journal*, 1837, pp. 10-13.

²⁷ *Georgia Senate Journal*, 1837, pp. 40-41.

²⁸ *Georgia Acts*, 1839, pp. 26-27.

²⁹ *Georgia Senate Journal*, 1841, pp. 357-64; *Macon Georgia Messenger*, December 26, 1839.

could "sustain its circulation at par with the bills of specie paying Banks, and make a general distribution according to law."³⁰ The Central Bank was not able to fulfill these conditions and never resumed operations, though its final liquidation was not completed until 1856. In this way the single attempt to operate a bank completely owned by the state was brought to an end unsuccessfully, because its friends, who claimed to be enemies of private credit banking and supporters of a hard-money currency, had forced it to make unwise and excessive issues of its notes to provide relief for the small farmers of the state during a depression. It seems unfortunate that these excessive legislative demands upon the bank deprived it of its usefulness to the people of the state, and destroyed what for many years had been a successful state-owned and operated financial institution.

The state authorities were not content merely to aid in the provision of credit facilities for the merchants, planters, and farmers, through the Central Bank and the investment of state funds in certain of the commercial banks, but also attempted to regulate and control the operations of the banks through provisions in their charters and through special acts of legislation. This regulation encompassed every phase of a banking activity, and, for the most part, seems to have operated for the best interests of the banks and of the people of Georgia.

The charter of each of the banks provided for a board of directors which was charged with the "well ordering of the affairs of said corporation." The directors elected the president of the bank annually from among themselves, and also appointed and set the compensation of the other officers and employees. After the failure of the Bank of Macon in 1832, which had resulted from repeated violations of its charter with the full knowledge and consent of the directors, the legislature provided that in subsequent failures the directors should be indicted for a misdemeanor unless they could show "that the affairs of the bank have been fairly and legally administered."³¹ In addition they were personally liable for any debts incurred by the bank in excess of three times the amount of its capital stock.

³⁰ *Georgia Acts*, 1841, pp. 25-26.

³¹ Prince, *Digest of the Laws of the State of Georgia*, 633.

Each of the banks was prohibited from engaging in commerce or insurance, and was forbidden to buy or sell any goods, wares, or merchandise, except bills of exchange and bullion, unless these goods, wares, or merchandise came into its possession as security for money actually lent, or for debts due the bank.³² The banks were also forbidden to purchase real estate except such as was necessary for the proper carrying on of their business; though they were permitted to hold lands, tenements, and hereditaments which had been mortgaged to them as security for, or in payment of, debts previously contracted; and they could purchase these items at court sales upon judgments obtained for such debts.³³

These provisions, though not uniformly enforced, were generally complied with by the banks, and seem to have been among the principal causes of the conservative course of the Georgia banks. They prevented the banks from participating in land and commodity speculations, and were in large measure responsible for the fact that the principal banks of Georgia were almost entirely free from financial difficulties except during periods of crisis and general suspension.

As an additional check upon the banks the legislature, in 1820, directed the banks to prepare an annual statement of their condition on the first Monday in October. These statements were to show the amount of specie held, other assets of the bank, deposits and other liabilities, and the amount of bills issued and in circulation. When prepared the statements were to be submitted to the legislature, but only members of that body were permitted to examine them.³⁴ Semiannual statements were demanded by the general assembly after the first bank failure in the state in 1832, and these were required to be made in much greater detail than previously, calling for a statement of "the amount of active or running paper, the amount in suit, the amount under protest, and not in suit, and clearly stating what amount of all the debts due the Bank is considered good, what amount doubtful, and what amount is considered

³² Charter of the Bank of Darien, Art. IX, par. 10, in Lamar, *Laws of Georgia*, 94-102. The various charters were substantially the same, and these general provisions were included in all of them in almost identical language.

³³ Dawson, *Laws of the State of Georgia*, 77.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, "Resolutions," 1.

bad and lost to the Bank.”³⁵ The following year, 1833, the legislature, in spite of the active opposition of the banks, authorized the governor to publish these statements in the newspapers for the information of the general public.³⁶

The banks in this period not only supplied the credit to finance the transportation and sale of the staple products of the country, but also provided the currency, in the form of bank notes, with which the daily exchanges of the market place were carried on. Much of the legislation in regard to banks was concerned with these notes and with the attempt to make them redeemable in gold or silver at any time. The banks were not required to keep any specified reserve to provide for this redemption, and the only limitation on the issue of bank notes was the general restriction that the debts of each bank should not exceed three times the amount of its capital stock over and above the amount of specie actually in its vaults.

From 1816 to 1821 any bank that refused to redeem its notes on demand was subjected to a penalty of twenty-five per cent on the notes refused, plus legal interest from the time of presentation to the date of redemption.³⁷ This penalty was removed in 1821, and legal interest was all that could be collected in such an eventuality until 1832. In the latter year the legislature authorized the collection of ten per cent damages in addition to the interest. This provision remained in effect until 1859, when the penalty was again raised to twenty-five per cent.³⁸

The legislature also provided for the forfeiture of the charter of each bank that failed to redeem its notes on demand, but during periods of general financial crisis the state authorities usually authorized the banks to suspend specie payments. This was done during the War of 1812, in 1857, and again in 1860.³⁹ In 1837 and 1839, however, the legislature did not formally authorize the banks to suspend, but took no action against them when they did.

³⁵ *Georgia Acts*, 1832, pp. 29-31.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 1833, pp. 38-39; Wilson Lumpkin to the Editor of the *Georgia Courier*, April 18, 1833, quoted in Lumpkin, *Removal of the Cherokee Indians*, I, 214-16.

³⁷ Lamar, *Laws of Georgia*, 105, 115.

³⁸ Dawson, *Laws of the State of Georgia*, 70; *Georgia Acts*, 1832, p. 29; 1859, p. 20.

³⁹ *Georgia Acts*, 1857, pp. 26-29; 1860, pp. 21-23.

The chief reason for this was that the merchants and other citizens of the towns drew up petitions urging that the banks suspend during the periods of financial crisis. Usually the Eastern banks suspended before the Georgia banks, and immediately began to bring pressure on their debtors, the merchants. These in turn demanded payment from the merchants and planters of Georgia who were in their debt. This resulted in a drain on the specie resources of the Georgia banks, and forced them to call on their debtors and to refuse to make any new discounts. When the Georgia banks suspended, however, the situation was remedied to a certain extent. The banks no longer had to call in loans since they were freed from the necessity of redeeming their notes in specie. They could advance their bank notes to Georgia merchants, who used these notes to purchase cotton from the planters to be shipped to New York, and there sold for notes current in that market. These notes were then used to pay the obligations of the Georgia merchants in New York, and the Georgia bank notes provided a medium for the payment of the obligations of the planters. Thus while the suspension of specie payments by no means prevented the panics from seriously disrupting the usual course of business within the state, it did mitigate their first effects and provided for a gradual rather than an immediate liquidation of existing indebtedness.⁴⁰

During these periods of crisis the larger banks of Savannah and Augusta attempted to set up a permanent arrangement for the regular settlement of balances between the banks. None of these attempts were successful, for as soon as the period of crisis was over the interior banks would resist, as the banks of Savannah and Augusta had done when, in 1820, the Bank of the United States had tried to accomplish the same purpose. The interior banks realized that such a system would permit the larger and stronger banks to restrain and control the issues of the

⁴⁰ Macon *Georgia Messenger*, May 25, 1837; Minutes of the Meetings of the Directors of the Augusta Branch of the Georgia Railroad and Banking Company (hereafter cited as Directors' Minutebook, Branch), IA, 34; Report of the Joint Committee on Banks, in *Georgia House Journal*, 1837, pp. 243-47.

smaller banks and prevent them from making the profits that the existing lack of a definite arrangement permitted to them.⁴¹

This was a source of constant trouble to the merchants who had business in all sections of the state. They were forced to accept payment from their debtors in any current money circulating in the state, except that which was at an unreasonable discount.⁴² If these notes were not accepted by their local banks on deposit or payment the merchants were forced to send them to brokers in the town in which the bank issuing the notes was located. There they would be presented and redeemed in specie or in bank notes acceptable by banks to which the merchants were indebted.⁴³ A typical letter of this sort from an Augusta merchant to a correspondent in Macon, said: "Enclosed I hand you seven hundred and sixty dollars for which after deducting your commissions, You will please send me a check on Savannah, Charleston, or New York, at sight or at 20 or 30 days, or Augusta Bankable funds whichever you may deem best."⁴⁴

The safe transfer of these notes within the state was always a pressing problem to the merchants. Private persons were frequently employed when on journeys to carry money from one town to another, and if no such person was available the money was entrusted to the mails. In this case it was considered advisable to tear the bank notes in half, send one part and hold the other until word had been received of the safe arrival of the other.⁴⁵

Because of this difficulty, and also because of the system of advancing goods to the planter to be paid for after the sale of his crop, promissory notes were frequently furnished the merchant by the planter instead of payment in bank notes. The merchant would discount these notes with

⁴¹ Catterall, *Second Bank*, 434-52; Report of the Joint Committee on Banks, in *Georgia Acts*, 1826, pp. 216-18; Macon *Georgia Messenger*, August 15, 1832; January 31, 1839; Directors' Minutebook, Branch, I, 229.

⁴² William Bostwick to Bloodworth and Maxcy, April 24, 1841, in Letterbooks of William Bostwick of Augusta, Georgia, now in the Yale University Library (hereafter cited as Bostwick Letterbooks).

⁴³ *Id.* to Gowdy and Kimberly, Hawkinsville, May 12, 1837; *id.* to John Banks, Columbus, July 1, 1837; *id.* to William G. Hansell, March 13, 1841, *ibid.*

⁴⁴ *Id.* to Thomas Taylor, March 14, 1840, *ibid.*

⁴⁵ *Id.* to E. R. Goodrich, April 15, 1837; *id.* to Bryant Dixon, March 8, 1844, *ibid.*

the bank and use the proceeds to pay his own obligations. The banks required at least two persons in the town to endorse each of these country notes before they would accept them. As a consequence the merchants made arrangements amongst themselves for the mutual exchange of endorsements on their country paper; or, at other times, would arrange for a broker or another merchant to endorse the paper in return for the payment of a two and a half per cent commission.⁴⁶

When the cotton had been picked and ginned it was usually sent by the planter to the merchant who had furnished him with supplies during the growing season. The merchant would either sell the cotton to a buyer in the interior, or ship the cotton to wholesale merchants or commission houses on the coast. In the latter case he would draw drafts on these consignees to be paid from the proceeds of the cotton. The merchant would then discount the draft at the bank and with these funds pay off the planter's note, which he had endorsed, deduct his commissions and other charges, and remit the balance to the planter. The coastal merchants then shipped the cotton to New York or Liverpool, drawing on their correspondents in the place to which the cotton was sent. When the cotton was finally sold the accounts of each of the participants would be balanced by additional payments, or, as happened only infrequently, if the cotton sold for less than the advances made upon it at any stage the difference would have to be repaid.⁴⁷

The merchants not only acted in the position of intermediaries for the planters whom they supplied, but also acted as purchasers of cotton for Eastern firms. They also on occasion purchased cotton for their own account and shipped it to New York or Liverpool for the purposes both of speculation and of providing means for the payment of their accounts during periods when the rates of exchange were exorbitantly high.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ *Id.* and Baird to Dr. Bowen, July 25, 1831; *id.* and *id.* to W. & J. Bowen, August 17, 1831; *id.* and *id.* to Shaw & Banks, October 26, 1831, *ibid.*

⁴⁷ *Solomon v. Solomon*, 2 Georgia 18 (1847); *Hardeman v. Ford*, 12 Georgia 205 (1852); Bostwick to Charles M. Wilson, May 17, 1837; *id.* to Major Thomas Oliver, April 10, 1841, Bostwick Letterbooks.

⁴⁸ Bostwick to Thaddeus Phelps & Company, October 30, 1836; October 11, 1837; May 29, 1841; *id.* to Thomas Crowder, Liverpool, May 18, September 24, 1838, *ibid.* One Macon firm offered as an inducement for the planters' trade with them the statement "that they are pledged not to deal in cotton on their own account."

Most of the larger merchants purchased the greater part of their stock of goods in New York and Philadelphia. They made an annual buying trip to the East and placed supplementary orders throughout the year. Consequently one of the most important problems of the Georgia merchant was the payment of his accounts in New York. Rates of exchange varied widely, and, at times, no exchange at all was available, so that the merchant was under the necessity of keeping informed concerning the condition of the financial market as well as of the state of trade, if serious losses were to be avoided.

Payments to the North were made by bills of exchange, checks, and certificates of deposit on New York banks; checks of Georgia banks on New York banks; individual drafts on correspondents in New York; brokers drafts, such as those of Beers Brothers & St. Johns, on their affiliated houses in New York; and occasionally by the purchase of promissory notes of Northern individuals and firms to Georgians, payable in New York. When exchange was not procurable at reasonable rates, specie was purchased and forwarded, but when even specie was not available, merchants, and frequently banks, purchased cotton, shipped it to New York and paid their accounts from the proceeds of its sale.⁴⁹

New York was thus the center of Southern trade, and apparently the creditor of the whole South. This dependence upon a Northern city was resented by Southern politicians, planters, and merchants, who felt that they were being deprived of a large share of the profits of the cotton trade. This was particularly true during periods of acute sectional or financial crisis. Numerous attempts were made to alter the course of this trade, and to free the South from the credit system that was centered in New York. The principal means suggested for this purpose was the development of direct trade connections between the South and Europe. Seven of the commercial and political leaders of Georgia issued a circular on July 21, 1837, announcing that a convention on the subject of direct trade was to be held on the third Monday in October at Augusta, Georgia.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ This account of the methods of payment is based primarily upon the letters of William Bostwick and the records of the Georgia Railroad and Banking Company.

⁵⁰ Macon *Georgia Messenger*, August 17, 1837.

The convention met and recommended that the Southern merchants, planters, and bankers utilize the existing commercial distress as an opportunity to reorganize the routes and methods of the import and export trade founded on cotton, in order that it might "be carried on by our own merchants, permanently resident among us, whether they be native or adopted."⁵¹ The agitation for direct trade continued for several years. A second convention was held in Augusta in April, 1838; a third in October; followed by the Commercial Convention of Georgia at Milledgeville in November; and by a fourth Southern Direct Trade Convention at Charleston, in April, 1839.⁵²

The existing system of economic relations between the South, the North, and Europe was exhaustively studied, and the results of this study were presented in elaborate reports and addresses. Numerous resolutions were adopted. The conventions recommended that the banking capital of the South be increased; that railroads be built to connect the Southern ports with the interior; and that lines of packets and steamers running regularly between the South and Europe be established.⁵³ These resolutions, however, were almost the whole result of the activities of the convention. Georgia, in 1838, did authorize the citizens of the state to form joint-stock companies "for the purpose of dealing in foreign merchandise, and domestic produce and manufactures, and for importing from and exporting to any foreign State or Country,"⁵⁴ but there is no record of any persons taking advantage of this opportunity. The suspension of specie payments in October, 1839, and the following period of acute commercial depression, which lasted until 1841, seems to have brought the whole movement to a temporary halt.

The agitation for direct trade was revived following the sectional controversy of 1850. The movement in this later period was participated in by two distinct and almost conflicting groups. The first, like the pro-

⁵¹ Augusta *Constitutionalist*, quoted in *ibid.*, October 26, 1837.

⁵² Macon *Georgia Messenger*, April 12, October 18, 25, 1838; April 25, 1839; Milledgeville *Southern Recorder*, November 20, 27, December 18, 1838.

⁵³ Report of the Commercial Convention of Georgia, in Macon *Georgia Messenger*, November 22, 1838; Robert Y. Hayne's Address to the Commercial Convention, April, 1839, in *De Bow's Review*, IV (1847), 339-56.

⁵⁴ *Georgia Acts*, 1839, pp. 54-58.

ponents of direct trade from 1837 to 1839, sought no fundamental change in the organization of the cotton trade, and found expression in the commercial conventions. The principal aim of this group was to establish direct trade relations with the European countries on the basis of the existing commercial and credit organization within the South.⁵⁵

The second group was composed of cotton planters and other persons acting in their interest. Their desire was not only to establish direct trade with Europe, but also to free the planter from his subjection to the merchants, factors, and bankers of the South. These cotton planters also held conventions: the first in Macon, Georgia, in October, 1851; a second in Columbia, South Carolina, in May, 1853; and another meeting on direct trade at Cooper's Well, Mississippi, in July, 1855.⁵⁶

These conventions accomplished little, but they led to the organization of the Cotton Planters' Convention of Georgia in 1858. Howell Cobb of Houston County, a cousin of the more famous politician of the same name, was the founder of this organization, which had as its aim the freeing of the Georgia planter from the "useless" agents who shared "the fruits of his capital, skill, and industry," and the reduction of "the unreasonable charges of those whose services are necessary."⁵⁷

Cobb was soon in correspondence with Belgian groups that were interested in the development of direct trade with the South. Reports reached him that the Belgians intended to establish a bank with a very large capital, the operations of which were to be based on cotton. This bank was to establish a branch in Georgia to make loans to the planters on lands, Negroes, and growing crops at European rates of interest. After the cotton was picked and ginned the bank was also to furnish the necessary financial facilities to transport it to Europe, where credit was to be furnished to the purchaser. In this way, as Cobb said, "the American planter, instead of receiving as now the first wholesale price of his

⁵⁵ Robert R. Russel, *Economic Aspects of Southern Sectionalism, 1840-1861*, University of Illinois *Studies in the Social Sciences*, XI, No. 1, Pts. I, II (1923), 93-122.

⁵⁶ *Macon Journal and Messenger*, July 23, October 29, 1851; May 11, 1853; April 25, 1855; *De Bow's Review*, XVIII (1855), 605.

⁵⁷ Address of Howell Cobb to the Cotton Planters' Convention, in Milledgeville *Southern Recorder*, May 15, 1860.

staple in America (which price is always the lowest) will get the last retail price in Europe, which price is always the highest."⁵⁸

This bank seems to have been entirely the product of the desires of the Georgia planters and of the imagination of an interested American in Belgium, for the Belgians themselves apparently never considered it. Instead of a bank with a large capital, they organized a trading company with an authorized capital of only ten million francs (two million dollars), and this company engaged in but one operation. It sent a shipload of goods for exhibition and sale to the Macon Fair of the Georgia Planters' Convention in December, 1860. The results of this venture were disappointing. The planters took little interest in the fair, either because they were disappointed in the results of their efforts to reorganize the credit system of the South, or because the political crisis was occupying their attention. In either event the Belgians realized with the outbreak of the war that there were no prospects of trade in the immediate future and their company was dissolved.⁵⁹

Looking back over these attempts to establish direct trade with the European countries, and to free the planters from the bonds of the credit system, it is significant that the large mass of the merchants and planters of Georgia took very little interest in them. Each was interested in his own particular operations and not the economic system as a whole. The average planter operated a comparatively small farm on which he raised relatively few bales of cotton. He needed supplies throughout the year that could be supplied by the merchant in the nearest town. When his crop was harvested he had neither the time nor the opportunity to send his cotton to a distant market. He desired to convert it into cash in the easiest and most convenient manner, consequently he sold it to the nearest buyer, and used the proceeds to pay the obligations that he had incurred during the year.

⁵⁸ Howell Cobb to the Cotton Planters' Convention, November 16, 1859, in *Macon Journal and Messenger*, January 11, 1860; Brussels letter of the *New York Herald*, reprinted in *ibid.*, October 5, 1859.

⁵⁹ Paul Evans and Thomas P. Govan (eds.), "A Belgian Consul on Conditions in the South in 1860 and 1862," in *Journal of Southern History* (Baton Rouge, 1935-), III (1937), 478-91. Professor Evans and the present writer are now engaged in the preparation of a study of this attempt to establish direct trade.

In the same way the merchants were interested in the profits to be made from the sale of supplies and the purchase of cotton, and the banker in discounting notes and furnishing exchange. They were little concerned whether the North was profiting at the expense of the South, or England at the expense of the United States. It was this concentration on individual interests that was the chief obstacle in the way of those who sought a change in the commercial and financial system.

On the other hand these planters, merchants, and bankers who continued to operate their businesses in the established manner were not necessarily unwise in their refusal to co-operate with the agitators who were so bitter in their attacks on the existing system. The individual planter could not see to the final disposal of his produce in distant markets, nor could he purchase directly from manufacturers. There had to be intermediaries and banks to take care of the financial aspects of the transactions. None of the proposals made by politicians or propagandists would have entirely eliminated the middleman or some form of credit, and it is probable that if the banks and some of the middlemen had been eliminated for a time, others would very shortly have taken their place. The existing system, while not perfect, did enable the Southern planter to raise his cotton, transport it to markets in the North and England, and to receive in return the supplies that he needed. The charges were moderate and the banks supplied the credit facilities which were necessary. It is hard to see how any system could have accomplished more.

The Clement Attachment

An Episode of Reconstruction Industrial History

By HARRIET L. HERRING

Manufacturing did not take root easily nor grow spontaneously in the South until near the end of the last century. Much of what existed before that, was, in a sense, the result of conscious efforts, of urgings on the part of leaders who saw the weakness of dependence on one-crop agriculture. Time and again, when things went badly with the great agricultural dynamo that ran the region, the cry for manufactures was raised. Industry should supplement agriculture; in particular cotton mills should supplement cotton growing so that the planter and his community might have the advantages of manufacturing which often seemed greater and surer than those of producing and marketing the staple.

But for all the talk of the desirability of manufacturing, industry materialized slowly, and so in every generation there arose advocates of some plan to hasten the movement by tying together the growing and the processing of cotton. Some of the schemes were purely financial in which planters were urged to subscribe stock to build a regular factory. At the other extreme were proposals to spin cotton on the plantation. The story of the Clement Attachment is the story of the most striking effort to build small-scale cotton manufactures closely affiliated with cotton growing.¹ Interest in this particular device developed at the close

¹ Much of the material for this story was secured from John V. Stribling, partly in an interview and partly from a collection of his papers lent to the writer. These consisted of letters from F. E. Whitfield and other correspondents, Stribling's own copies of his letters to Whitfield and others, and some clippings, mostly from the *Columbus, Mississippi, Patron of Husbandry*.

of the Reconstruction period when recovery and other conditions promised to furnish a more substantial basis for industry than had heretofore existed in the South. Its history reveals the intensity of the South's desire for manufactures as well as the difficulties in establishing them.

Lewis T. Clement, a cabinetmaker-mechanic of Smyrna, Tennessee, patented his Attachment in 1869. There is strong tradition, however, that he invented it before the War in the midst of another flurry of interest in a machine for spinning cotton direct from the gin and adapted to small-scale plantation use. Clement died, tradition again has it, in an accident at the time of his application for the patent and the invention was temporarily buried with the inventor.

Sometime in 1870 or 1871 Colonel F. E. Whitfield of Corinth, Mississippi, resurrected Clement's machine. He bought a third interest in the patent, secured from the other owners power of general agent, and started a grandiose scheme for using it. He organized a million-dollar company, the capital to be furnished from adjoining counties in one hundred-dollar family shares. Before construction started the million was cut to one quarter, and not nearly all of that was subscribed. This was not surprising in a district where capital and labor were not even sufficient to put the land back into cultivation.² Other difficulties reduced more and more the scale of the plans, but Whitfield did succeed in getting a machine made by mechanics in Tennessee,³ and into operation in time to exhibit some of his yarn at the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia where it took a medal. By this time his chief interest seems to have shifted to another method of exploiting his patent, namely, selling of agency rights to the machine.

For the next two or three years Whitfield devoted himself to propaganda for the Clement Attachment. He proved to be an energetic and resourceful publicity man. He wrote long letters which W. H. Worthington, editor of the Columbus (Mississippi) *Patron of Husbandry*, published.⁴ In these he described the spinning qualities of cotton and how this machine made scientific use of them. He restated all the old

² Robert Somers, *The Southern States Since the War, 1870-1* (New York, 1871), 143.

³ Advertising circular published by Whitfield in late 1879.

⁴ Many clippings from *Patron of Husbandry* among Stribling's papers.

arguments and advantages for manufacturing cotton in the South, together with the special advantages if the manufacturing were done in this type of factory. There would be a home market for produce among the workers, a market for yarns in the neighborhood, a possibility of diversification—everything the South needed. Indeed “a kind Providence has given us means of getting out of our bondage, like the children of Israel.”⁵

Worthington became almost more enthusiastic than Whitfield. Hardly an issue of his paper for several years after he first saw the machine in operation in 1876 failed to have something favoring the new process.⁶ Other grange papers and small county newspapers took up the subject, inquiries began to be addressed to Whitfield, and visitors called to see his mill. From the middle of 1877 Whitfield was busy getting out circulars, approving agents in various states and counties, negotiating with machine shops for the manufacture of attachments, and keeping up with the little mills that were being proposed and started.

At least two Clement mills were set up in 1877. At the Bluff City Mills in Memphis, started in the spring, B. B. Smith, a practical mechanic associated at various stages with Whitfield, added his invention, a device to remove motes from the cotton and help clean it. The other, at Andersonville, South Carolina, was started at about the same time as the Bluff City Mills, and soon reported excellent production and a market at a premium for more yarn than it could make.

Inspired by the example of the Andersonville mill, some farmers not far away, headed by another natural mechanic, John V. Stribling, bought a Clement Attachment, collected second-hand cotton roving and spinning machinery, and set up their mill on a tiny creek in Oconee County near Westminster, South Carolina. They began operating in April, 1878, processing their own crop of cotton. Stribling had a mechanical gift which enabled him to smooth out imperfections in the new, and as yet rough, machine. More important, it enabled him to keep his ma-

⁵ Whitfield to Stribling, November 6, 1878.

⁶ *Id.* to *id.*, December 19, 1878.

chine in operation, which was more than many of the others could do with their clumsy attachments.

In the fall of 1878 he and Whitfield entered into a correspondence which quickly resulted in Whitfield's offer of the agency for North Carolina, South Carolina, and later for Alabama. Stribling set to work with a will. He wrote letters to the papers, and Southern newspapers at that time were glad to print anything about cotton manufacturing. He showed his mill to visitors, exhibited yarn at fairs, tried to stimulate granges and agricultural societies to adopt this method of manufacturing, and to back it before legislatures. He answered inquiries as to the cost of a factory, cost of operation, and all sorts of technical and mechanical questions. He quoted the comments of yarn commission merchants on his Clement process yarns: "They are the Hansomest [*sic*] goods we have ever seen. We have a demand here for an Extra quality of Yarns and we would like to have a Shipment from you. We will make you liberal cash advances on Shipments."⁷ Nearly a year later this firm was again asking for a "Shipment of Yarns to Philadelphia as we have an outside trade for it there and for a superior quality of yarn such as you make we can find a ready market."⁸

Stribling was far more practical-minded than Whitfield, an indefatigable worker, and something of a visionary who saw in this little Clement Attachment all that Whitfield saw and more. He reargued the case for cotton manufacturing in the South and, like all good propagandists for this cause, proved statistically that there would always be a market for as much yarn as could be made, and computed the profits to the South if it processed all its crop.

Typical of the writings on the Clement Attachment are the following extracts from the *Charleston News and Courier*:

. . . The first operation is to pass the seed cotton through the cleaner [presumably B. B. Smith's moter] which cleans it of all dust, grit and much of the leaf trash and motes. It is then uniformly distributed on an endless revolving apron of the feeding table, so situated as to place it into the Clement gin which is attached to the card. The gin takes the lint from the seed, the brush takes it

⁷ Buckingham and Paulson (yarn commission merchants) to *id.*, December 10, 1878.

⁸ *Id.* to *id.*, October 11, 1879.

from the gin, and the card cylinder takes it from the brush. It is then carded, drawn, roved and spun, as by the old method. By this process there is no tangling, napping, cutting, or breaking of the fiber—no condensing, no packing, no opening, no picking, no lapping.

. . . The new process dispenses with fully one-half the building, machinery, motive power and operatives hitherto necessary to convert any given amount of seed cotton into yarns; causes the card, with the same amount of motive power, to do five times as much work, saves one-half the usual waste, and produces stronger sliver, rove and thread, than can be made of baled cotton, which on account of their extra strength, seldom break or let down, thereby enabling operatives to attend to more machinery and each machine to do more work. The thread is equal in every respect to that made of baled cotton, fifty per cent stronger and more sheeny.

The attachment supersedes the gin, press and compress, because they are intended and only used to render cotton transportable; the willower, lapper, double lapper, breaker, and four-fifths of the cards, because they are only used to try to remedy the injury done by the gin, press and compress; it supersedes the railway, railway drawing-head, also all jack frames, slubbers, mules, twistors, eveners, etc., simply because they are costly and unnecessary machines and perfect thread can be made without them.

The reason why the card will do five times as much, using seed cotton and the same amount of motive power, as it did by the old process, using baled cotton, is because the filaments are not allowed to leave the machinery, fly or become tangled but are kept straight and parallel, and carding is but the straightening of the cotton filaments. The saving of one-half the usual waste is because fresh, live cotton is used, and half the usual machinery dispensed with. The extra strength of the thread and skein is owing to the working of the cotton fresh from the seed, the oil of which has kept it alive, light, elastic and flexible, with all its attenuating qualities perfect, and the fact that it has never been napped, cut nor tangled by the gin, pressed, compressed, or permitted to become dry, seasoned or brittle in this tangled condition, nor has it been injured by the willower, lapper, double lapper, breaker and cards, where the damage done by the gin, press, compress are sought to be remedied. But these advantages, great as they are, are not half that are claimed for the "New Process."

The entire capital necessary for the smallest size new process mills, including building and motive power, is only \$3,500, and will pay a net profit of 30 to 50 per cent per annum. . . . It saves all expenses, loss, waste, dryage, prerequisites, general average accounts stealage and speculation, etc., on cotton in transit from the field to the factory, be that distance 15 or 15,000 miles, as from India to Manchester, England.

The ginning, baling, bagging and ties are saved; the seed inure to the manufacturers: no loss from falsely packed cotton, no strikes among operatives.⁹

⁹ *Charleston News and Courier*, January 26, 1880.

During 1878 Clement mills were projected up and down the South from Suffolk, Virginia, to Batesville, Arkansas. Granges in several sections showed interest, but there is no evidence that any grange built a mill for the Clement process. A few built by individual owners materialized, and by the spring of 1879 Whitfield had hopes of some twenty or thirty being started. By the middle of 1879 news of and interest in the Clement Attachment had reached the larger and more important papers. The *Atlanta Constitution*, always interested in furthering the cause of manufacturing in general and cotton manufacturing in particular, was eager to present every item of news on the subject and back it up with editorial praise. This paper prophesied late in 1879 that a hundred of these mills would be set up in Georgia in the next year or two. The *Constitution* and other papers contained enough news items of Clement Attachment mills projected during that fall and early 1880 to justify prophecy.¹⁰

Henry W. Grady in particular, recently come to the *Constitution* staff, wrote about it and his propaganda succeeded so well that he was submerged with inquiries. Finally, in some exasperation he said, "I have written absolutely all that I know about it. After next Tuesday [when he was planning to go to Westminster] there will be more to add."¹¹ Grady was even more enthusiastic after his visit than before.

The newspapers and the agents received an increasing number of inquiries about the Attachment. In 1878 Whitfield said he was getting a hundred letters a week. A visitor from Louisiana noted on the day of his visit to Westminster that Stribling received twenty-five or thirty such letters.¹² Partly because Stribling was state agent, partly because he was a methodical correspondent, but chiefly because he could keep the machine going at a profit, his little factory became the most famous of the Clement mills. During the next two years he had literally thousands of letters from all over the South and many other parts of the country. He

¹⁰ *Atlanta Constitution*, October 8, 12, 19, 22, 28, 29, 1879; January 21, 25, 1880; Walhalla (South Carolina) *Keowee Courier*, December 18, 1879; January 22, 1880; Charleston *News and Courier*, January 1, February 20, 23, 1880.

¹¹ *Atlanta Constitution*, November 8, 1879.

¹² Walhalla *Keowee Courier*, December 4, 1879.

claimed to have had three thousand correspondents, and after the boom was over destroyed hamper baskets full of letters. He had visitors by the hundred. Westminster became a mecca for all interested in cotton manufacturing and in the years 1878-1880 there were many such in the South. The hack driver at Westminster made a good living taking people to the little mill. The subject of most of the letters and the object of most of the visitors, how to get the machinery, shows how practical was the interest in manufacturing and in this machine.

How to get a Clement Attachment—that was the problem. It was one for which Whitfield himself had no answer. Each of the earliest machines was made at a different place, usually at some near-by machine shop. Several of those finally in operation were made at Memphis gin shops. In 1878 Whitfield opened negotiations with the Bridesburg Machine Company in Pennsylvania in an effort to have Attachments made on a large enough scale to meet the anticipated demand. Bridesburg was favorable at first, but the parties failed to agree. Whitfield said that it was because of his requirement that his mechanic, B. B. Smith, should supervise the manufacture of the first machines in order that the general agent could guarantee them.¹³ Whitfield interpreted Bridesburg's stand as opposition to the process per se. Although his circulars, statements, and letters suggested that Bridesburg was making them, his correspondence with Stribling, as well as Stribling's own statement in 1929, makes it rather certain that Bridesburg never did. Negotiations with several gin manufacturers in the Lower South failed to produce contracts or machines. The little gin shops in Memphis that had turned out a few were closed by yellow fever in 1878 and 1879.¹⁴

The manufacture of Smith's moters was in similar confusion. Some were made in St. Louis. Some parts were made in New England, others in any available gin shop. Agents were instructed to have machines and parts made in gin shops in their own territory. It is easy to imagine the difficulty of getting the machines and parts assembled and operating properly, and the consequent need for a very skilled and ingenious me-

¹³ Whitfield to Stribling, October 11, 1878.

¹⁴ *Id.* to *id.*, December 14, 23, 1878; September 5, 23, October 1, 1879.

chanic attached to each mill. The wonder is that any of them worked. A greater wonder is the presumption of Whitfield, who, in the midst of such confusion could write Stribling that he expected him as agent "to keep a few Attachments on hand."¹⁵

Stribling thought then, and held the same view fifty years later, that if Whitfield had been willing to let one adequately equipped manufacturer have exclusive rights to the Attachment some company—even Bridesburg perhaps—would have made them. In the light of contemporary evidence this seems to be a sound view, for public interest was so great that a company was sure of a market.

This same confusion and scattering of effort was apparent in Whitfield's dealings with his agents. His chief interest had become the selling of state and county agencies for the machine. He had worked out an elaborate scale of prices for the selling system. Royalties for a single machine were \$150, and agencies for each state and county had a price depending on cotton production, population, wealth, facilities for manufacture, and transportation.¹⁶ Thus the agency for Wilkinson County, Mississippi, was valued at \$900, the state of North Carolina at \$20,000, and South Carolina at \$15,000. It seems unlikely that he ever realized, even in contracts to say nothing of cash, such fancy prices for these agencies. But he did "sell" several states and many counties, so that his widow, writing in 1892 of the Attachment's greatest promise, said "his coffers were overflowing."¹⁷ He offered all sorts of terms from reduction in price to acceptance of stock in the mills. In his eagerness to sell rights Whitfield wished to assign state agencies and yet reserve to himself the privilege of selling county and individual rights. This naturally got him into difficulties with his agents, especially his most active and resourceful one, Stribling. The latter felt that the money and effort he had expended in advertising, writing to newspapers, correspondence, and showing visitors his mill entitled him to an opportunity to reap

¹⁵ *Id.* to *id.*, December 14, 1878.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Lucy G. Whitfield to Stribling, June 2, 1892.

some benefit.¹⁸ Besides, the people who wrote to the agents and visited the mills were interested, not in rights to go out and sell to other people, but to set up the machines for themselves. Whitfield's efforts to protect his monopoly in his patent rights caused him to refuse to put the Clement Attachment on its merits before agricultural associations. This inevitably made people suspicious of the capabilities of the machine.¹⁹

Whitfield's own Clement mill was a distinct liability as well. He admitted that he was no manufacturer. The mill ran for only seven months in the beginning, and after May, 1879, the machinery was set in motion only when visitors came to see a Clement Attachment in operation. Neither machine nor operatives could have made a very impressive showing under such circumstances. Whitfield was often embarrassed by his own mill and took some pains to explain that it was not a success because of lack of financial backing. He had to sell goods on time and had spent so much developing Clement's first machine—\$17,000 he said—that he had inadequate capital for the mill.²⁰ These excuses were inadequate from a man who was telling the public that a Clement mill could be built and operated for \$4,000, \$3,500, even \$2,500, and make a profit of from 20 to 50 per cent; from the man who was urging little single Attachment owners to raise their daily output from 160 to 200 pounds of yarn a day even if it took a day of twelve hours to do it; who was criticizing their business ability, their price of yarns, and so on.²¹

So eager was the South for manufacturing, so ready was everyone to hope for a quick way to build industry, that there was surprisingly little skepticism of the glowing claims of Whitfield and his agents. At least very little was voiced in the early days of the boom. Occasionally an editor, correspondent of a newspaper, or a prospective Clement purchaser would say, after he had seen a mill in operation, that he had

¹⁸ Whitfield to *id.*, June 25, August 15, September 5, R. J. Dawson to Whitfield, October 8, Whitfield to Stribling, October 31, W. B. Bass to Whitfield, November 11, Stribling to *id.*, November 11, 1879; *id.* to John E. Smith, March 13, 1880.

¹⁹ Henry W. Grady, "Cotton and Its Kingdom," in *Harper's Magazine* (New York, 1850-), LXIII (1881), 733.

²⁰ Whitfield to Stribling, November 6, 1878.

²¹ Stribling to Whitfield, November 27, 1878; Whitfield to Stribling, December 14, 1878 (two letters), May 5, 1879.

thought the claims must have been exaggerated, but that seeing was believing.

Gradually skepticism and even opposition developed as certain disadvantages became apparent. And although little of the criticism found its way directly into print the proponents devoted an increasing amount of their writings to answering objections. Whitfield's assertion that the Bridesburg Machine Company had not been willing to make the Clement Attachment because they were opposed to the process per se was, as has been noted, probably not the only difficulty in the way of the contract. Exclusive rights would have insured them a great potential market for that one machine and supplementary equipment even though it would have eliminated others. Machinery manufacturers in general, however, had real grounds for opposition. Besides eliminating several machines in the early stages of production of the cotton the new system would have meant small scattered sales of Attachments and supplementary spinning machinery instead of large sales to a single factory. For in spite of all the reiteration by the general agent and his assistants that the Clement Attachment was adapted to the large factory as well as to the small, as Whitfield wrote to Stribling, people listened to this less because they had only one-horse mills to show.²² The use of seed cotton, involving the problem of transporting and storing a bulky material, served to make it essentially a small-scale neighborhood type of enterprise. The proponents' strongest arguments had been its suitability to small-scale investment and operation.

One of the most outspoken critics was Colonel Enoch Steadman of Covington, Georgia. He had achieved some reputation in the operation of a little mill, buying seed cotton, ginning and processing it. He flatly pronounced the Clement Attachment a humbug. Whitfield declared in the spring of 1879 that Colonel Steadman "*believes in the new process, but being an agent for the old process machinery does all he can against the new process.*"²³ In view of Steadman's own belief in the economic salvation of the South by small mills this view seems plausible, but

²² For example, Whitfield to Stribling, March 6, 1879.

²³ *Id.* to *id.*, May 5, 1879.

certainly Steadman was devastating in his criticism. More than this, he expressed it in an open letter to the *Constitution* in the midst of that paper's most vigorous espousal of the Clement Attachment's cause. He declared that there was not a saw gin in America that would discharge lint evenly, hence the sliver and the yarn would be uneven and fitted only for coarse, cheap goods. This must have been a well-founded objection, for many other less prejudiced witnesses also said this; and Stribling, Whitfield, and Smith were continually trying to make improvements in the feed table to insure evenness. Steadman objected further that the figures submitted to the public had omitted such important items as allowance for the owner's time in attending to the factory, his commissions, freight, and other such charges incident to selling the yarns; had allowed nothing for repairs, replacement, insurance, and taxes, and not enough for incidentals.²⁴

There were other objections and disadvantages. The seriousness of some of them is evident from Whitfield's own replies published in a circular late in 1879:

The only objections urged against the new process, by its enemies, are, 1st, seed cotton cannot be kept over a year. This is not true, for all farmers know that seed cotton, put up dry, will keep a year and many of them during the war kept it in the seed two or three years and learned that the lint was not only undamaged, but greatly benefitted.

2nd. It could not be handled in large quantities. Answer: seed cotton requires little if any more than twice the room necessary to store the same amount of baled cotton and if 19 operatives, all women, boys and girls, can convert 2,100 lbs. of it per day, into yarn—which is daily done in many mills—there is no reason why ten times as many operatives (180) would not convert ten times as much seed cotton into yarns in the same time, which would be equal to 14 bales, of 500 lbs each, constituting a yarn mill that would be considered respectable for both the quantity and quality of its turnout, even in Lowell or Falls [*sic*] River.

3rd Objection: It would require too much commercial capital. Ans. Cotton does not mature only in the fall season. Some one is obliged to hold an 8 months' supply of cotton for the mills. Would it not be better for the new process mill owner to buy his seed cotton in the fall when he can get it of the best quality and lowest prices (for at that season the speculators, for the purpose of depressing the price, usually magnify the amount of the prospective crop) than be at

²⁴ *Atlanta Constitution*, February 20, 1880.

the mercy of the speculators who made the mills pay 50 per cent. more than they gave the poor farmer for his crop of 1878-9? The cash invested in seed cotton the 1st of Jan. for an 8 months' supply could be replaced in 4 months from the sale of the yarn made in that time, and the manufacturer would have to pay only 4 months' interest.

4th Objection: Its general introduction would produce a disturbance and revolution in trade and commerce. It certainly would dispense with gins, presses, bagging, ties, compresses, and all loss, waste, dryage, weighing, sampling, perquisites, stealage, city crop, shrinkage in weights, speculations, etc., on cotton bales, thereby saving the South likely \$100,000,000 annually, but not necessarily creating a disturbance in trade and commerce, for bales of yarn would gradually supercede [*sic*] bales of cotton, and eventually bales of textile fabrics would take the place of bales of yarn.

The Whitney gin enabled the South to ship her raw cotton thousands of miles to be manufactured.

The Clement Attachment enables her to manufacture it at home; the former reduced her to poverty and degradation; the latter, by saving all expenses, waste, etc., as above stated, and adding the profits of manufacturing to that of production, will make her the most prosperous country on earth.

Thus the difficulties of the new process accumulated. There were those growing out of Whitfield's management of the machine's destiny—lack of provision for supplying Attachments and his interest in selling agencies rather than machines. There were those growing out of opposition to the new process by individuals and companies interested in the regular factory process and the machinery for it. There were financial problems: the small entrepreneur had just as much trouble getting his small working capital as the larger company did in getting a larger amount, while relatively more was needed for buying and storing a year's supply of raw material. Finally, there were rather serious mechanical difficulties. The fiber came from the gin teeth straight and in that respect ready for spinning, but the eliminated machines did something besides straighten tangled fibers. They cleaned the cotton and gave an opportunity for mixing different bales, thus reducing the variations in fiber resulting from differences in soils and growing conditions. Most important of all, each successive machine delivered an increasingly even lap or roll, and resulted in more nearly perfect yarn. The unevenness characteristic of the more direct Clement Attachment process was

a defect which all of Stribling and Smith's ingenuity had been unable to eradicate.

And so for one reason or another Clement mills ceased operation. Most of the owners were unacquainted with cotton manufacturing and had inexpert labor, a combination which prevented them from coping with the unperfected "new process" machine. None seems to have had sufficient commercial capital.²⁵ Although the figures regarding profits sounded large, the bookkeeping and accounting systems were so sketchy as to make them misleading, while actual profits on such small-scale enterprises were necessarily very small. Some ceased operation or operated spasmodically while the boom was at its height in 1878 and 1879. After 1880 there were more stopping than there were new ones starting, and finally the star mill of all, Westminster Manufacturing Company, closed, certainly before 1883. George Stribling said it was financial difficulties in other interests of the partners which carried it down; John V. Stribling said it was because the business was too picayunish to be profitable.²⁶ For, though it made 30 per cent profit this amounted only to some eight dollars a day—hardly enough to interest two such energetic men as the Stribling brothers. The creek was too small to furnish power for a bigger plant. It is incredible that with all the publicity, the enthusiasm for the Clement Attachment, and Stribling's connection with the most striking mill, that he could not have secured capital for enlargements if he had so desired. It may have been that Stribling's attention was directed to perfecting his traction engine, a type of automobile introducing for the first time the differential gear which he patented June 13, 1882.

For all practical purposes the boom was over by 1881. The meteoric career of the Clement Attachment, lasting hardly more than three years in general interest, is one of the most striking episodes of the post-Civil War enthusiasm for industry which ran as a strong undercurrent to the political and social adjustments that claimed the public interest. But it was soon forgotten as the interest which caused it to be received so en-

²⁵ Whitfield to Stribling, March 6, 1879.

²⁶ Interviews, August, 1929.

thusiastically found expression in the establishment of regular cotton factories.

Several times in the next decade efforts were made to revive the idea of small plantation mills spinning cotton direct from the gin, and using the Clement Attachment or some other machine. Stribling had some correspondence in 1892 with Whitfield's widow in an effort to renew patents on the Attachment, and to get the machine exhibited at the Columbian Exposition, and again in 1899. Their efforts came to nothing chiefly for lack of funds. Stribling still had faith in the Clement Attachment, in its possibilities for the little man, in its power to build up the South—a faith which he still retained in 1929 when he was interviewed on the history of the Attachment.

The efforts of Stribling and of promoters of other machines aroused no interest in those later years, for by this time the South was beginning to be interested in size as well as number of establishments. It was learning the costly lesson that all the enthusiasm and community spirit in the world did not take the place of capital, technical skill, managerial ability, and experience.

The Fate of the Exiled Acadians in South Carolina

By MARGUERITE B. HAMER

Through the fortunes of war the old French colony of Acadia lost name and nationality henceforth to become Nova Scotia and British. The Peace of Utrecht permitted the Acadians to hold their lands provided they took an oath of allegiance to their new sovereigns. In 1717 they agreed to swear to "take up arms neither against his Britannic Majesty nor against France." Such an oath did not placate the English Lords of Trade and Plantations. "The French inhabitants of Nova Scotia," they declared, "will never become good subjects of His Majesty. . . . they ought to be removed."¹ The removal plan was postponed during a respite of peace which even the turbulent eighteenth century knew. In 1726, the Governor of Nova Scotia could complain: "the oath of fidelity has not been taken these several years past by the French inhabitants. I am informed they are resolved to quit the province rather than take it."²

The passing years brought more strained relations as between Britain and France. The "bad subjects" in Nova Scotia were objects of suspicion and distrust. In certain districts as in Mines, Pisiquid, and the River Canard the guns of the French Acadians, or Neutrals, were taken away from them even though they had maintained their oath "in its entirety." The London government decided on even more drastic meas-

¹ Board of Trade to the Governor of Nova Scotia, Whitehall, December 20, 1720, in Thomas B. Akins (ed.), *Selections from the Public Documents of the Province of Nova Scotia* (Halifax, 1869).

² Governor Lawrence Armstrong to the Secretary of State, Canso, July 27, 1726, *ibid.*

ures. The French farmers and fisher folk were to be exiled from Nova Scotia, dispersed among the several British colonies, to the south.³

In August, 1755, in accordance with royal instructions, Governor Charles Lawrence of Nova Scotia dispatched a circular letter to the governors of the several colonies on the continent: "you will receive," the letter ran, "the inhabitants I now send and dispose of them in such manner as may best answer our design in preventing their reunion." Lawrence assuaged his conscience: "I am in hopes," he wrote to London, "the provinces will make no difficulties about receiving them as they may in a short time become useful and beneficial subjects."⁴

English contemporaries asserted that instead of being transported, the Acadians should have been "executed for high treason." Shocking as such a course would have been, it appears mild in comparison with the terrible consequences that followed the transportation.⁵ About six thousand Acadians were deported to be scattered over the British colonies. According to Governor William H. Lyttelton, 1077 were sent to South Carolina in the course of the winter of 1755-1756.⁶ The ship *Hopson* carried 993 of the exiles. For one month they languished on board the vessel awaiting permission to go ashore. The authorities of South Carolina looked upon the newcomers with suspicion and alarm. They were French, therefore enemies; they were without funds, therefore a charge upon the community. Worst of all, their religion was Roman Catholic—that dread faith contemned by Englishmen since before the days of Elizabeth, and especially repellent in colonies closed to "Papists." In the imagination of the Protestant colonists, Acadians were "tainted with principles most pernicious to Civil and social liberty." They were accounted "enemies to the laws and religion of their country."⁷ In case of invasion and insurrection they were sure to "adhere to His Majesty's

³ Instructions for John Handfield of Annapolis Royal, August 11, 1755, *ibid.*

⁴ Governor Charles Lawrence to the Board of Trade, October 18, 1755, *ibid.*

⁵ Emile Lauvrière, *La Tragédie D'un Peuple, Histoire Du Peuple Acadien: De ses Origines A Nos Jours*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1924), II, 108.

⁶ *Post*, n. 35.

⁷ Charleston *South Carolina Gazette*, January 1, 1756.

enemies”⁸—the French, who were “ever ready to substitute popery and slavery for religious liberties.”⁹ The ill-fated French Neutrals presented an even greater danger. Charlestonians shuddered at the thought of that ever present nightmare that assailed the South Carolinian mind, and would not down till civil war itself ended the evil: slave insurrection. The Acadians were likely to join with the Negroes. Charleston with its timber buildings would all too easily be reduced to ashes. It was unwise then to harbor strangers who would connive with the blacks.

Danger again awaited if the Acadians should work in the fisheries. Such employment would acquaint them with the coast, its “defenceless situation,” and the depth of the rivers. When, after long weeks of confinement on board vessels, a few hundred were permitted to land on Sullivan’s Island, they were kept under strict watch. None were permitted out between eight in the evening and dawn. A daily roll call was observed. Charlestonians themselves volunteered to mount guard.¹⁰

In the spring of 1756 vessels plying between Martinique and St. Croix brought to Charleston rumors of renewed war between Britain and France.¹¹ In June the rumors were confirmed. Privateers were fitted out against the French,—the ancient enemy. During the winter of 1757, His Majesty’s ship *Winchelsea* brought captive into Charleston 4 French prizes and 100 French prisoners—fit subjects to join with the Acadians to promote “mischief.” To avert any danger, the French prisoners were forbidden to land and the 4 French captains were permitted to come ashore only if they did not “concert measures with the Acadians.” It appears that the indulgence of the city was abused. The captains were seen with Acadians; consequently, they were remanded to their respective vessels. The successful privateer, the *Winchelsea*, was retained at Charleston to stand by in case of a combined uprising of Acadians, French prisoners, and Negro slaves.

Meanwhile, the majority of the Acadians were still on board the

⁸ Journal of the Commons House of Assembly, South Carolina, July 12, 1760, MS. volumes at Columbia (cited hereafter as South Carolina Commons Journal).

⁹ Charleston *South Carolina Gazette*, December 23, 1756.

¹⁰ Governor James Glen to the Board of Trade, April 14, June 2, 1756, in South Carolina Commons Journal.

¹¹ Charleston *South Carolina Gazette*, May 1, 1756.

Hopson, anchored in the harbor at Rebellion Road. The captain refused to carry them away. His charter named Charleston as their destination. None other would he substitute. The assembly threatened not to land them, not to provide for them. However, in sheer embarrassment it voted an allowance of 15s. a head for food for one fortnight longer. The departure was delayed when the *Hopson* was discovered damaged and in no condition to proceed. Finally the vessel was repaired, but the captain persisted in his refusal to carry away the unhappy Acadians on board. Travel-worn, weary, "dejected," the homeless, friendless aliens said that if they should starve on board, they were willing to submit to their fate.¹² The harassed province gave orders that no pilots thereafter should bring any ship into the harbor containing Acadians. If any such should come, the passengers would be supplied with "necessaries" only to enable them to go to some other place.¹³

Acadians continued to come, however, not only from distant Nova Scotia, but also from neighboring Georgia. In March, 300 men, women, and children coasted up from Savannah to Charleston equipped with passports from Georgia's governor, John Reynolds. In Georgia, founded as it had been in the interest of poor Protestants, "French Papists" were denied even the meager hospitality experienced in South Carolina. The lot of the transients was deplorable. The assembly at Charleston, having no desire to spend money on persons merely passing through the province, ordered the intruders to return to Georgia or else to proceed immediately northward. The Board of Trade, on the other hand, advised Governor James Glen of South Carolina to honor the passes of the Georgia governors and permit the French Neutrals to remain in South Carolina.

Chief among the Acadian refugees from Georgia was one Jacques Maurice, or Morris, who had remained in the colony for four months and "behaved himself well." Governor John Reynolds had given him a permit to depart with family and friends from Georgia and to proceed northward. South Carolina likewise wished him to quit her shores. Its

¹² South Carolina Commons Journal (Executive), January 22, 1756.

¹³ *Ibid.*, February 4, 1756.

assembly at Charleston voted that a pilot should take the Morris party to Cape Fear and so "prevent their doing any damage to the inhabitants of South Carolina upon the coast." Glen gave Morris leave to depart, engrossing the back of Governor Reynold's pass. Before the year was out, Morris was accused of having plotted with Indians against white settlers in Georgia. A certain Joseph Blyth testified that in September, 1755, at St. Taffey's, an Indian village, he had heard Morris boast that 500 Frenchmen would soon take Frederica and Fort William. Blyth and several companions had then hurried to the fort.¹⁴ Meanwhile, Morris, with two boatsful of Acadians, five men and sixty women and children, all from Georgia, had landed safely in a province far to the north.¹⁵

Governor Glen and his successor, Lyttelton, continued to grant passports to Acadians setting out to reach the homeland. The assembly voted money to defray the expenses of schooners, ordering that the "able and stout men should be sent first," they being the persons from whom the "greatest danger" might be expected.¹⁶ Seven boats carrying ninety Acadians reached Massachusetts from Georgia and South Carolina. They were as unwelcome in Massachusetts as those from Georgia had been in South Carolina. It appeared "pretty extraordinary," the Governor of the New England province complained to Lawrence of Nova Scotia, that these people who coasted up to Massachusetts had been furnished with a passport from the governors of Georgia and South Carolina.¹⁷

The Governor of Nova Scotia viewed with alarm the return of the French exiles. Again a circular letter from that province was dispatched to the several colonial governors. This time it requested them to stop the progress of the French Neutrals through their governments. "The return

¹⁴ South Carolina Commons Journal, December 9, 1756.

¹⁵ Morris left South Carolina on April 8, 1756, and reached New York on August 6 of the same year.

¹⁶ South Carolina Commons Journal (Executive), April 9, 1756; George P. Bible, *The Acadians* (Philadelphia, 1906), 108.

¹⁷ William B. Reed, "The Acadian Exiles, or French Neutrals, in Pennsylvania," in *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, VI (*Contributions to American History* [Philadelphia, 1858]), 314 *et seq.*

of The Acadians," wrote Governor Lawrence, "will be fatal to Nova Scotia." Urgently he advised the governors to destroy all vessels fitted out for the returning exiles. The Board of Trade, like Lawrence, deprecated South Carolina's course in permitting Acadians "to remove themselves to coast along from one Province to another in order to reach Nova Scotia." South Carolina's conduct was "absurd and blameable."¹⁸

If Governor Lawrence could send the subjects of George II to South Carolina, the Governor of South Carolina could send them to Great Britain. Accordingly, Glen signed certificates empowering two Acadians, formerly of Beau Bassin, to go to England. Such a step brought down upon Glen the ire of the royal government. He was advised that the King intended that the Acadians should remain in the colonies, and that on no account should any be sent to England.¹⁹ Governor Glen then comforted himself with the assurance that it was illegal in any case to transport Acadians to England: "They are His Majesty's subjects," he said. "They have committed no crime in South Carolina." "Their transportation would be a violation of Magna Charta," he reasoned.²⁰ Four years later the assembly of South Carolina renewed its old request that the Governor send French Neutrals to England. But the new governor, William Bull, mindful of instructions to his predecessors, replied, "I am not at liberty to comply with your urgent request without incurring His Majesty's royal displeasure, which it is my duty and your desire I should avoid."²¹

Unable to send Acadians to the north or to England, the province must perforce absorb its unwelcome inhabitants. The assembly decided to indent the unfortunate strangers to such persons as would be willing to take them. They were "well acquainted with agriculture," willing to work in the country, and so would be "able to deserve what they should get." Regulations were drawn up fixing the relation of master and servant. No Acadian need serve after the age of twenty-one years. There-

¹⁸ Copies of letters, Lawrence to the Board of Trade, July 1, 1756; the Governor of Massachusetts to Lawrence, August 1, 1756, in *South Carolina Commons Journal*.

¹⁹ Copy of letter from Henry Fox, Secretary of State, March 10, 1756, *ibid.*, June 2, 1756.

²⁰ Glen to the Board of Trade, April 14, 1756, *ibid.* (Executive), 149.

²¹ *South Carolina Commons Journal*, July 17, August 5, 1760.

fore, those over eighteen years of age should be bound for a term of not more than three years. The only wages were to be "clothes and victuals."²² Orphan children "engaging in private families" were to receive a "tolerable subsistence." Even children of living parents were separated and scattered among several plantations. The members of the Joseph Durong family were distributed among five distinct households. The husband and wife were permitted, however, to remain with Andrew Burnet.

Four fifths of the Acadians were proportioned among twenty-seven parishes outside of Charleston according to the number of taxable males in the parish; for example, Christ Church with 106 and Saxe Gotha with 93 taxable males received respectively 26 and 23 Acadians.²³ The work of conveying the families into the country entailed considerable inconvenience for the already harassed Acadians. Governor Lyttelton attempted to extend every consideration and courtesy. Carriages were provided to carry the baggage and the women and children who were unable to walk. "Upon the whole," Lyttelton boasted, "I endeavored to exercise as much humanity towards them as the nature of the business would admit of. The object I have had in view has been to take the most effectual means that the circumstances of this Province would allow of to dispose of those . . . People." "I flatter myself," he wrote to Secretary Henry Fox, "that my conduct in procuring a law by which they will have a regular establishment in the Province untill His Majesty's Pleasure shall be further known concerning them, will not meet with your disapprobation."²⁴ In the fall of the following year (1757) the Commissary was instructed to send an account of the Acadians disposed of and of those undisposed of, if any there were, in the several districts.²⁵ If any foreigner left his assigned parish he was to be returned to it by any justice of the peace, for no one was to remain in the parish in which he

²² Charleston *South Carolina Gazette*, July 15-21, 1756.

²³ Act of July 6, 1756, in South Carolina Public Records (Archives, Columbia, S. C.), XXVII, 129-30, 132.

²⁴ Governor William H. Lyttelton to Fox, August 5, 1756, in British Public Record Office, transcripts America and West Indies, LXX.

²⁵ South Carolina Commons Journal, November 9, 1757.

did not belong.²⁶ The tendency of the Acadians was to return to Charleston where one fifth of the weakest among them had been permitted to remain. In the city parishes of St. Philip's and St. Michael's, no less than 340 individuals were crowded into these places: the British tenements on Trott's point, "petit Versailles," the "orange Garden," and the old free school.²⁷

Overcrowded conditions and lack of clothing suited to South Carolina's extreme heat added to their sufferings, later intensified by a malignant kind of smallpox which spread among them.

Under all these misfortunes and privations, the Acadians found words, despite their language difficulty, to acknowledge "with heartfull gratitude" the benefit and assistance that they had received from the charitable provisions made for them. They thanked the "gentlemen instructed to manage them" for their "care and humanity." The attitude of the Acadians is variously described. According to some historians they were "a mild, frugal and pious people." Other accounts are less flattering. The Governor of South Carolina complained that in moving them from Charleston to the parishes he was forced to handcuff and fetter many of them. Gabriel Manigault, chairman of the special legislative committee on Acadian affairs, reported: "They are disaffected, discontented and wholly averse to living under an English Government, nor is there any appearance of an alteration in their sentiments, or that they will ever become serviceable to the Province." They were reported as "unwilling to work," of a "seditious disposition" and "turbulent nature"; they were described as "bigotted," "insolent," "troublesome," and "dangerous." Such epithets as "rascals," "rebels," and "traitors" were commonly applied to them. At one time thirteen or fourteen were committed to the workhouse; five were consigned to the gaol for committing a robbery at the home of John Williams of St. Stephen's Parish. Telling Mrs. Williams that they wanted nothing but firearms, they car-

²⁶ Minutes of the Vestry of St. Helena's Parish, South Carolina, 1726-1812, p. 97, October 17, 1758; p. 108, July 16, 1759; *Register Book*, Parish, Prince Frederick Winyah, 1713-1779 (Baltimore, 1916), 141-43.

²⁷ South Carolina Commons Journal, October 5, 1758.

ried away a gun from the chimney piece.²⁸ Glen examined the five men confined in the "Black Hole" and urged them to go to England for redress; but they answered that they would not "go off the Province" unless permitted to go to the northward, or forced off by the Governor's mandate in writing. Two other parties of French Neutrals escaped but were caught not far from Charleston at Monck's Corner and at Goose Creek Bridge.²⁹

On the whole, the Acadians seem to have been rather docile and well behaved. Their continued stay in the inhospitable province was deplored chiefly because of the expense involved. The people of South Carolina, though in "no flourishing condition," could not sit by and see the innocent victims of Britain's harsh imperial policy starve or die for want of medical supplies. In despair the assembly voted money to William Pinckney, commissary general, to supply the Acadians with "necessaries" and to employ a physician in their behalf. Dr. Lionel Chalmers received more than £107 for attending the sick in the winter and summer of 1756; other physicians received more than £695—all legislative appropriations.³⁰ From March, 1756, till the following March, the government of South Carolina voted no less than £8,126 for the stranded Acadians. In 1758 twenty-six persons who had assisted the exiles financially were paid all told £2,794. Legislative appropriations compensated church wardens who had advanced money for the aliens in the following parishes: St. Helena, St. Philip's, Saxe Gotha, St. Paul's, St. George's, St. Bartholomew's, and St. James, Goose Creek. St. Philip's in Charleston received the largest sum which was £541 17s. 8d. St. Helena's was second on the list with £184 10s.³¹ Earlier, £300 had been appropriated to reimburse the church warden of the Parish of St. Philip's for "cloathes for superannuated male Acadians and women and children as were not bound apprentices."³² In 1759, 340 in the city parishes being utterly destitute applied to the church wardens of St.

²⁸ Affidavit of Dr. Lewis Caw of St. Stephen's Parish, *ibid.* (Executive), February 10, 1756.

²⁹ Charleston *South Carolina Gazette*, February 5, 1756.

³⁰ South Carolina Commons Journal, July 2, 1756.

³¹ *Ibid.*, May 12, 1758.

³² *Ibid.*, December 2, 1757.

Philip's who refused assistance, "But the Petitioners knew the good intentions of this House and procured on their own credit supplies."⁸³ The trust of the Acadians was not misplaced. The assembly did vote relief; £3,000 were appropriated to pay for medicine, linens, and other provisions.⁸⁴

Advancing years brought a diminution in the sums expended for individual Acadians. In 1756, 15s. each had been allowed; later, 7s. 6d. was considered adequate. In 1760 the sum shrank to 1s. 3d. each. In that year only the indigent were provided for. At that time the province reckoned that all told, the Acadians had cost £25,000. A further expenditure of £1,000 in the following year (1761) took care of Acadians departing the province. The appropriations declined with the passing years accordingly as the Acadians were absorbed by the parishes or had quit the province. Their numbers decreased from somewhat over 1,000 individuals to 210 in 1760.⁸⁵

After peace had been concluded between Britain and France in 1763, many of the French Neutrals left the British colonies for the French West Indies. Nova Scotia rejoiced. "Thus," wrote the Governor, "we are in the way of being relieved of those people who have been the bane of the Province and the terror of its settlements."⁸⁶ In the long years that followed but few of the exiles ever returned to their old homes and those few were as "ghosts come back from a past age."⁸⁷

⁸³ *Ibid.*, May 16, 1760.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 52, April 4, 1759.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, February 12, 1760; March 30, 1761. Governor Lyttelton estimated that "the whole number landed here [Charleston] at different times, of men, women and children amounted to 1077 of which 109 have died and 273 have been shipped off." Lyttelton to the Board of Trade, Charles Town, June 19, 1756, in South Carolina Public Records, XXVII, 116.

⁸⁶ Akins (ed.), *Public Documents of the Province of Nova Scotia*, December 18, 1764.

⁸⁷ Edouard Richard, *Acadia: Missing Links of a Lost Chapter in American History*, 2 vols. (New York, 1895), II, 328; Arthur G. Doughy, *The Acadian Exiles* (Toronto, 1916), 171.

Notes and Documents

NOTES ON SOUTHERN PERSONALITIES

Edited by P. L. RAINWATER

The following "Notes,"¹ except the one on George Poindexter, are taken from an unpublished manuscript entitled "A Civilian's Recollection of the War Between the States," by Horace S. Fulkerson. The manuscript, dated 1886, deals primarily with conditions in Mississippi during the war. Fulkerson's knowledge and estimate of the persons herein characterized were obtained by personal acquaintance and, in some instances, official relationships both before and during the conflict. His observations on the characters of Governors Charles Clark and John J. Pettus of Mississippi, Governor Henry Watkins Allen of Louisiana, J. D. B. De Bow, Albert Gallatin Brown, William L. Yancey, and other important personalities of the period, are revealing.

The two published books of Fulkerson are now rare. The first, *Random Recollections of Early Days in Mississippi*, was published by the Vicksburg Printing and Publishing Company in 1885. The second, *The Negro as He Was; as He Is; and as He Will Be*, was published by the Commercial Herald, Printers, Vicksburg, in 1887.

Horace S. Fulkerson was born near Harrodsburg, Kentucky, on April 18, 1818. He came to Mississippi in 1837, landing from a steamboat at Rodney in Claiborne County. In 1840 he moved to Port Gibson, Mississippi, where he held the position of deputy United States marshal. Removing to New Orleans in 1858, he remained there until the opening of the War between the States. In 1861 the Confederate government

¹ This introduction, with the exception of the first two paragraphs, is reproduced with slight modification from the editor's introduction to H. S. Fulkerson, *Random Recollections of Early Days in Mississippi* (Baton Rouge, 1937).

sent Fulkerson to Europe as a special agent to arrange for the purchase of arms and munitions of war for the Confederate army. After his return from Europe, where he met with some success, Fulkerson joined the "Confederate Guards," one of the numerous companies of home guards organized to assist in the defense of New Orleans. About ten days before the fall of the city, he applied for and received a furlough from his commanding officer, Colonel J. F. Girault, to attend to urgent business at the main office of the Southern Pacific Railroad at Marshall, Texas, a railroad of which he was then the New Orleans agent. Arriving at Shreveport, Louisiana, on his return trip, he learned that New Orleans had fallen and that his family was safely at Baton Rouge. Accompanied by a civil engineer of the Southern Pacific Railroad, he then went to the vicinity of Jefferson, Texas, to examine certain iron mines and timber resources on the banks of a near-by stream with the view of building gunboats and floating them into the Red River and thence into the Mississippi in order to recover the control of that river. Fulkerson, convinced that his plan was feasible, disclosed it to leading citizens of Jefferson, who called a mass meeting which he addressed. A petition was drawn up and unanimously signed, directed to the authorities at Richmond, urging the adoption of the plan. After similar meetings with like results were held at Shreveport and Vicksburg, Fulkerson proceeded to Richmond and laid his plan before Davis and Benjamin, both of whom directed him to Stephen R. Mallory, the secretary of the navy. The Secretary was enthusiastic about the plan but the Chief Engineer and the Naval Architect of the department advised against its adoption and it was accordingly dropped until near the end of the war.

During the siege of Vicksburg, Fulkerson was acting commissary of the Post of Natchez and purchasing agent for the garrisons at Vicksburg and Port Hudson. Immediately after the fall of Vicksburg, he "skipped out from Natchez" but was promptly appointed by J. D. B. De Bow, whom Davis had chosen to preside over the Confederate Cotton Bureau, as a district agent in Mississippi. He held this position until captured by the Federal forces at Fayette, Mississippi, in October, 1864. He was released from prison in New Orleans on December 9, 1864, but in the

interim another had been appointed cotton agent in his place. On his release, therefore, he held no civil office that would exempt him from military service. Accordingly, he reported to the conscript camp at Enterprise, Mississippi, "whither I went after taking a good rest at home, and whither all those patriots who had till then 'lagged superfluous' at home, were in duty bound to report. I was promptly assigned to a company doing post duty at Meridian Mississippi; a company of 'conscript fathers,' drawn from sundry quarters, who were seeking the 'bubble reputation' by guarding yankee prisoners and the horses of 'brilliant' young staff officers on duty at Lieutenant-General Taylor's headquarters." He was given the "investiture" of a corporal and wondered "if the Confederacy had not at last found her Napoleon."

In 1867, Fulkerson moved with his family from New Orleans to Vicksburg, where he engaged in the mercantile business. He was a ruling elder of the Presbyterian Church at Vicksburg, and he was so faithful in his duties that his brethren affectionately called him "The Bishop." On February 27, 1845, he was married to Miss Charlotte McBride of Grand Gulf, Mississippi, who, with four daughters and one son, survived him. He died at Vicksburg on April 5, 1891.

GOVERNORS MOORE, ALLEN, AND PETTUS

Governor Moore² enjoyed the confidence of the people of Louisiana in the highest degree, but he was better suited to the retirement of the plantation than the turmoils of war. He was succeeded in his office by a man of entirely different stamp—a man of intense activity and great impulsiveness of character—Col. Henry W. Allen,³ who commanded a regiment at the battle of Shiloh, where his

² Thomas Overton Moore (April 10, 1804-June 25, 1876) was born in Simpson County, North Carolina. He was inaugurated governor of Louisiana in January, 1860, called the legislature into special session after the election of Lincoln, advised secession, and played a prominent rôle in making Louisiana a member of the Confederacy. During the war his plantation in Rapides Parish was raided and his home and sugar mill destroyed. After the surrender, Moore fled to Cuba but when a full pardon was granted he returned and spent the rest of his life on his plantation near Alexandria trying to restore it and to recover the losses he had sustained during the war. See sketch by Eugene M. Violette, in *Dictionary of American Biography*, 20 vols. (New York, 1928-1936), XIII, 138-39.

³ Henry Watkins Allen (April 29, 1820-April 22, 1866), was a Confederate soldier and governor of Louisiana. He was inaugurated on January 25, 1864. As governor he showed extraordinary administrative ability. See sketch by Douglas S. Freeman, *ibid.*, I, 191-93.

command saw the first active service, and where he was dangerously wounded. He spent his last evening in New Orleans, before his departure for Shiloh, at my house. His spirit was chafing then for the active duties of the field. We had known each other intimately in earlier life in Mississippi, and I had witnessed a bloody duel in which he was a party, in which he and his antagonist both fell, but neither was mortally wounded, though they fought with pistols loaded with buck-shot at ten *feet*—not paces; a particular account of which is given in my "Early Days in Mississippi."

After recovering from his wound at Shiloh, he was again desperately wounded at the battle of Baton Rouge, in a gallant though ineffectual charge upon the enemy's lines. Though he recovered from this, it disqualified him for future active service, and he was nominated for Governor of Louisiana and elected, I think, without opposition. Shreveport, at this juncture, January, 1864, was the Capitol of the State, New Orleans, and Baton Rouge, the former Capitols, being held by the Federals. Col. Allen, before his election had been made Major General of Militia by Gov. Moore's appointment. In his position as Governor he was very diligent in the discharge of every duty, and did a great deal to promote the welfare of the families of the soldiers and of the poor generally. At the fall of the Confederacy he went to the City of Mexico, where he engaged in the publication of a newspaper. He died there April 22, 1866, and his remains were subsequently moved to New Orleans. A handsome monument marks the spot of his resting place. His remains, with the monument, have since been removed to Baton Rouge, the present Capitol of the State of Louisiana.

In Mississippi I had the honor of appearing before the whole Board (Military [*sic*] Commission) on the occasion of my first visit. It was composed of the best material, in the persons of Col. Charles Clark,⁴ Col. J. L. Alcorn,⁵ Col. G.

⁴ Charles Clark (1810-December 18, 1877), governor of Mississippi, was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, but removed to Jefferson County, Mississippi, in 1831. He volunteered his services in the Mexican War, serving in the Second Mississippi Regiment under Colonel Reuben Davis, and on the resignation of Davis because of ill health, Clark became colonel of the regiment. He entered the Confederate army in 1861, and the next year he was seriously wounded at the battle of Shiloh. He came home on crutches, and was shortly elected governor of the state. He was re-elected in 1864 and served until displaced by Provisional Governor W. L. Sharkey in 1865. Clark was arrested by Federal authority and removed to Fort Pulaski, Georgia, but was soon released. He had moved to Bolivar County, Mississippi, before the war, whence he now returned to resume the practice of law until his death. See sketch by Franklin L. Riley, *ibid.*, IV, 122.

⁵ James Lusk Alcorn (November 4, 1816-December 20, 1894) was born in Golconda, Illinois, but was reared in Livingston County, Kentucky. He moved to Coahoma County, Mississippi, in 1844 where he practiced law and operated a plantation. Alcorn was elected governor of Mississippi in 1869 but resigned on November 30, 1871, to enter the United States Senate as the successor of Hiram R. Revels (colored). Adelbert Ames, Alcorn's

H. Mott,⁶ Gen. Earl Vandorn⁷ (who had resigned his commission in the United States army and had tendered his sword to his native State) and the Governor. Gen. Vandorn, the only soldier on the board, was the only member whose opinion as to the gravity of the situation coincided with my own. He was for immediate arming while the others did not think there was need for any haste. They had faith (with the exception, perhaps, of Col. Alcorn) in the ultimate recognition by the General Government of the right to peaceably secede. They admired my guns, and after adjournment, the Governor, an old hunter, and I shot away much ammunition trying to hit an imaginary Yankee at long range. The guns performed to the Governor's satisfaction, and we retired to the Governor's office at the Statehouse, where he entertained me with one of his best bear stories.

Gov. Pettus⁸ was unquestionably a man of parts; a thinker, a man of strong and decided convictions, but not a man of affairs, in any judgment. He was too slow, too inapprehensive, too unimaginative for a war governor. He trusted too much in the logical results of the doctrine of Secession, as held by the extremists of the South, to wit: that it was a peaceable right and remedy, and to this conviction's being reached eventually by the North. His activity in urging the preparation for the defense of the State at Vicksburg was long after the delusion alluded to had been dispelled, and when he had been fully aroused by the din of battle and the shock of arms.

colleague in the Senate, defeated him for the governorship in 1873. Alcorn remained in the Senate until March 3, 1877, when he retired to his plantation. See sketch by Franklin L. Riley, *ibid.*, I, 137-39.

⁶ Christopher H. Mott was one of the five brigadier generals elected by the Mississippi Secession Convention. He was seriously wounded in 1862 while leading his troops in the battle of Williamsburg, Virginia. Dunbar Rowland, *History of Mississippi, The Heart of the South*, 2 vols. (Chicago, Jackson, 1925), II, 47-48.

⁷ Earl VanDorn (September 17, 1820-May 7, 1863) was born at Port Gibson, Mississippi. After graduating at West Point, he was given a lieutenancy in the United States Seventh Infantry. He fought with Scott in the Mexican War and later fought the Comanches in the Southwest. VanDorn was promoted captain in the Second Cavalry in 1855. He resigned his commission in the United States army in 1861 and accepted a commission of colonel in the Confederate army. His most spectacular exploit was the capture of Holly Springs, Mississippi, in December, 1862, thus compelling Grant to retreat from North Mississippi. While encamped with his forces at Spring Hill, Tennessee, he was assassinated by a Dr. Peters of that village, with whose wife, it was alleged, VanDorn was too intimate. Dunbar Rowland, *Mississippi*, 4 vols. (Atlanta, 1907), II, 847-49.

⁸ John J. Pettus was born in Wilson County, Tennessee. Early in life he moved to Kemper County, Mississippi. He served in the lower house of the Mississippi legislature, 1846-1848, and in the upper chamber, 1848-1858. He was elected governor of Mississippi in October, 1859, as an advocate of immediate and separate secession in the event of Lincoln's election. After the fall of the Confederacy, he moved to Arkansas where he lived the life of a recluse. He died January 25, 1867. *Ibid.*, II, 410.

J. D. B. DeBow⁹

The Confederate Cotton Bureau was presided over by J. D. B. DeBow, of *DeBow's Review* fame (successor to *Hunt's Merchant's Magazine*, a popular Southern periodical).¹⁰ He was a man of high literary attainments, and of the Calhoun school of politics. Mr. DeBow administered his office with just that ability which an honest man with good sense, but without BUSINESS TRAINING, would be expected to administer it. Much surprise was expressed at Mr. Davis' choice of a literary man for the office when the Confederacy was swarming with cotton merchants from the seaport cities of the highest order of business talent, and of long experience. Perhaps he had good reasons. One suggested was, that a cotton merchant would take advantage of the opportunity which the position afforded to engage in private speculation. All governmental positions open the door to private gain, and it may be well to question as to which is best, inexperience with necessary accompanying inefficiency, or experience with the dangers—not certainty—of private speculation. The merchants who held these civil positions were as patriotic and honest as any other class, and were, almost invariably, efficient.

From Mr. DeBow I received my appointment as District Agent, my district embracing the counties of Hinds, Claiborne, Copiah, Jefferson, and Adams, Mississippi. I entered upon the discharge of my duties not long after bringing my family out of Natchez. My first acquaintance with Mr. DeBow was formed at the Memphis Internal Improvement and Commercial Convention, held in May, 1845, presided over by the great Calhoun. We were both delegates to the Convention and both quite young. It was in his speech at the opening of the Convention that Mr. Calhoun christened the Mississippi River "a great inland sea." My official relations with Mr. DeBow whilst he held the office were quite pleasant. He was a genial, artless and transparent man, with the abstracted manner common to most literary men, and which made him appear awkward and out of place in business matters. He was amiable but very excitable, and tenacious of

⁹ James Dunwoody Brownson De Bow (July 10, 1820-February 27, 1867) was born in Charleston, South Carolina. In 1843, after many financial handicaps, he graduated at the College of Charleston at the head of his class. At the behest of Poinsett and Calhoun, De Bow gave up the editorship of the *Southern Quarterly Review*, published in Charleston, and removed to the prosperous commercial center of New Orleans where, in 1846, he issued the first number of *De Bow's Review*. He was appointed to the chair of political economy (subsidized by Maunsel White) in the University of Louisiana (now Tulane University) in 1848. De Bow was much interested in the commercial conventions which were held periodically in the South from 1837 to 1859, and he presided over the convention which met in Knoxville in 1857. He was a partisan for the Southern Rights cause, and he was very influential through the columns of the *Review*. See sketch by Broadus Mitchell, in *Dictionary of American Biography*, V, 180-82.

¹⁰ Fulkerson was in error here. *Hunt's Merchants Magazine* was published in New York, 1839-1870.

his opinions in political matters. I witnessed a very amusing scene with him one day at the City Hotel in New Orleans. It occurred at the dinner table. I sat opposite him while he sat between two of his friends who were dining with him. It was at a period of high political excitement, just before secession, and he and his friends, one of whom differed with him, were engaged in high debate. They had all ordered their dinners, which were before them. DeBow had the floor, and launched out in a long constitutional argument, whilst their friends diligently bent their energies to the important business of eating, and after making way with their own dinners, deliberately went to work eating up DeBow's, he meantime continuing his high argument in most exciting manner, not observing the trick being played upon him. When he had finished his argument he took up his knife and fork and looked down, only to find that his dinner was all gone!

ALBERT GALLATIN BROWN¹¹

Lee and Johnson had surrendered and Lincoln had been assassinated, and the anxious enquiry of every Confederate with mind enough to project itself into the future was, "what next." The day on which the news of the assassination reached Jackson I was at that point on my way to Claiborne county, on some official business, and after getting out upon the road leading South towards Crystal Springs I saw about a mile ahead of me a "solitary horseman" apparently moving at about my speed. Observing by his horse's tracks that he was carelessly winding with the smoothest part of the road and being anxious for company, I spurred up my good walking mule and by taking the short cuts in the turns of the road I soon overhauled the traveler, who turned out to be no less a personage than *Ex-Governor and Confederate Senator Brown of Mississippi*. We were old acquaintances and friends and each so glad to have company that the reciprocity was on both sides, and not on one side only, as the great and witty Prentiss once told a loafer and bore who was expressing his gratitude at meeting Prentiss.

The Governor was on his way to his home which was near Terry, a little railroad town some twenty miles distant, and was quite *blue*, as was also his companion. After shaking off the reverie in which he had been steeped since leaving

¹¹ Albert Gallatin Brown (May 31, 1813-June 12, 1880) was born in Chester District, South Carolina. He came with his parents to Copiah County, Mississippi, in 1826. In 1833 he was admitted to the bar and two years later he was chosen to the lower house of the Mississippi legislature. He was elected to the lower house of Congress in 1839. On a platform advocating the repudiation of the Union Bank bonds, he was elected governor of Mississippi in 1843 over two opponents. After serving two terms as governor, he was returned to the lower house of Congress where he remained until he entered the United States Senate in 1854. He resigned after Mississippi seceded in January, 1861. Brown served in the Confederate Senate from February 18, 1862, to March 18, 1865. He was never defeated for any office which he sought at the hands of the people. See sketch by Franklin L. Riley, in *Dictionary of American Biography*, III, 100-101.

Jackson, the news of the assassination was broached, and which he regarded as a great misfortune to the South. He had known Lincoln and all the prominent men then connected with the government at Washington, during his long service as a member of one or the other of the two houses of the U. S. Congress; and said that it would have been better for us if any one of the others had been killed. He entertained the popular opinion of Mr. Lincoln's kindness of heart and fidelity to his convictions; and he felt that his influence would have been exerted in the direction of a generous policy towards the conquered South. He expressed great apprehension that Stanton's vindictive nature would find expression in the policy of the new administration, overriding any feeling of mercy Mr. Johnson might have towards his native section. He gave his opinion freely of all the public men who would be conspicuous in shaping the policy of the government towards the fallen foe.

From these he passed into a long review of the policy of the Confederate government, dwelling at considerable length upon the secret negotiations attempted with foreign powers and actually made with France. He denounced Louis Napoleon for his perfidy, and cowardice, and for Mr. Seward's easy victory over him, diverting him from the line of policy towards the Confederacy to which he was committed, going so far as to prohibit the finishing of certain war vessels in the waters of France, which he had expressly authorized to be built, guaranteeing his protection.

We parted at the gate leading into the Governor's home, and I pursued my journey. Governor Brown was not what the world called a great man but he had been great enough to achieve a most remarkable success in politics and professionally. He was a lawyer. He had been in office nearly every day of his life since early manhood up to the fall of the Confederacy; filling the position of District Attorney, Circuit Judge, occupied a seat in both houses of the State Legislature, filled the Governor's chair, was elected to the U. S. Congress for several terms, and then to the U. S. Senate, and was Senator to the Confederate Congress, having been taken from the command of a company in the army of Virginia in the early days of the Confederacy, to fill that position. With this his official career closed. He died June 12, 1880, and lies buried at the Capitol of the State.

JUDGE PERKINS¹² OF LOUISIANA

After accomplishing the purpose of my visit below I returned in a few days to my home in Brandon. One evening shortly after my return, my near neighbor,

¹² John Perkins, Jr. (July 1, 1819-November 28, 1885), was born at Natchez, Mississippi. He received his literary degree from Yale in 1840 and his law degree from Harvard in 1842. He was admitted to the bar and began the practice of law in New Orleans in

Dr. B., like myself a refugee, sent word to me that a gentleman named Daniels was at his house and desired to see me. It was then nine o'clock. I answered the summons promptly and was ushered into an upstairs room where to my astonishment I found not a stranger but my old friend Judge Perkins of Louisiana, who explained the situation at once by informing me that he was seeking to get across the river to Louisiana, then to Texas, then to Mexico, and thence to Europe, and that he had been traveling through the country overland under an assumed name. He had been a member of the Confederate Congress and was apprehensive of being arrested. I found also at the Doctor's General Sparrow of Louisiana, a Confederate Senator, who was on his way to his plantation in Carrol Parish (having left Richmond at the evacuation, *not* traveling however under an assumed name).

At their request the Dr. and I undertook to see these distinguished gentlemen to Vicksburg and to aid them to the best of our ability after getting there to carry out their purpose. We "hitched up" our teams—no railroads then running—and drove off trusting that our obscurity would shield us from the consequences that usually flow from being caught in bad company! We were only "carriage drivers," for the gentlemen, not friends, or other guilty rebels seeking to escape the halter! The trip was made without accident. . . . The second night out Dr. B. and General S. drove on and into Vicksburg while the Judge and I spent the night on the east side of Big Black River about fourteen miles from the city at Mrs. McK's, the Doctor being commissioned by the Judge to secure some articles with which he would be able to disguise himself. The General openly presented himself at Head Quarters and got a permit to go to his home. The Doctor returned to us with the needed articles and then took the Judge into the city where he procured transportation on a boat going up the Red River and went on his way rejoicing, literally carrying out his projected plan of going to Europe. . . . It is proper to remark that there were some grounds for Judge P's apprehension of arrest. He had been an original and decided Secessionist, and when Grant was moving down the river by land, about the time of the investment of Vicksburg, the Judge had with his own hands put the torch to his fine residence, Somerset, perhaps the most valuable estate in Louisiana, declaring that the tread of the vandals should never defile his carpets. There were arrests made of other parties about this time for offenses of no greater magnitude than his.

1843. Perkins was also engaged in cotton planting. After serving one term as judge of the circuit court embracing Tensas and Madison parishes, Louisiana, he entered the lower house of Congress in 1853. He was chairman of the Secession Convention of Louisiana in 1861, and he served in the lower house of the Confederate Congress from 1862-1865. After the fall of the Confederacy he went to Europe but returned to the United States in 1878 and lived in Louisiana and Canada. He died in Baltimore, Maryland. See *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927* (Washington, 1928), 1402.

At the close of the war, to escape the foreshadowed calamities of peace, some of our Southern citizens expatriated themselves—sought new homes outside the jurisdiction of the United States, leaving singly and in colonies, Mexico being the city of refuge to some, Brazil to others, and British and Spanish Honduras to yet others. A few more wise, in seeking to get away from their desolated homes and associations with their suffering fellow citizens, instead of expatriating themselves, betook themselves to Northern and Western cities to forage upon the enemy or as holding out better chances of rebuilding broken fortunes.

All of the ventures South of us proved complete failures; some of the parties to them having to be brought back to their native country owing to their destitution, at the expense of the Government, a government from which they were seeking to escape.

I have before me the diary of my friend Maj. Chas. Sweet of Warren county, Miss., who after vainly endeavoring for four years to destroy "the best government of the planet" betook himself in disgust at his failure to the Honduras country, more for the purpose however of prospecting than of making immediate settlement. He was accompanied in his voyage of discovery among others by his venerable father, David Sweet, Esq., of precious memory, an old and highly esteemed citizen and at the beginning of the war a prosperous merchant of Vicksburg, an elder in the Presbyterian Church, who had immigrated to Mississippi from his native state of Massachusetts in early manhood. The old gentleman had freely given his sons and his treasures to the Southern cause though a union man as long as he could be such without disloyalty to his adopted state. The spirit of his ancestors was in him in his full identity with the South. The prospect of enduring the horrors of subjugation in the closing years of his honorable life was chafing to him and he sought to escape it, but it was decreed otherwise. He returned and continued to reside to the close of his beautiful life amidst his family and friends and brethren, bequeathing to them an untarnished name hallowed by many sweet and cherished memories.

The major says in his diary under date of Jan. 2nd, 1868, "We find in our little vessel many gentlemen from Louisiana, Arkansas, and Mississippi and from other Southern States who before the war were in affluent circumstances. We have been very fortunate in forming a party for exploration." They had taken the [name of vessel not legible] on the 29th of December and reached Balize Honduras on the 6th of January. The exploring party mentioned consisted of the following persons as reported in the diary under date of January 6th to wit: Rev. Levi. Pearce of Sharon, Miss., Danl. Sweet, and Chas. Sweet of Vicksburg, Miss. From points in La., Col. I. F. Harrison, Dr. J. P. Frierson, I. G. H. Frierson, Dr. F. R. Grey, Capt. W. Buckner, E. V. Frierson, T. C. Frierson, T. F. Owen, Theo. P. Kane; from Arkansas J. S. Peak, and T. P. Morris.

Like Rosin-the-bow, these gentlemen traveled this country, all over got frequently drenched by tropical showers, got bitten by many mosquitoes, ate much

fruit, refused to eat *babboon* and the major and his father returned by steamer to New Orleans landing March 13th. He does not say what became of the other members of the party. Doubtless all of them returned—to stay.

WILLIAM L. YANCEY¹³

Mr. Yancey and Judge Rost,¹⁴ the two other Commissioners, had just reached London and I determined to call on them before leaving. I did so the day before my departure. I found them in high spirits, inspired by Mr. Mann's¹⁵ confident assurances and their own sanguine temperaments. In reply to my question if he thought the guns we had shipped would be in danger of a blockading squadron at the mouth of the Mississippi, Mr. Yancey promptly replied, "none whatever, sir; ship all the guns you can; they can never blockade our ports," and I think said further that if they could the blockade would be broken by foreign powers. I am not sure of this, but something to that effect was said in the course of the conversation. The confident tone of the Commissioners did not relieve my apprehensions, and I left them without having had any *reasons* given me for their

¹³ William Lowndes Yancey (August 10, 1814-July 27, 1863) was born in Warren County, Georgia. His father died in 1817 and in 1822 his mother married Nathan Sydney Smith Beman who took her and her two children to Troy, New York. Young Yancey left Williams College in 1833 before his graduation and went to Greenville, South Carolina, where he entered the law office of Benjamin F. Perry. On August 13, 1835, he was married to Sarah Carolina Earle, the daughter of a wealthy Greenville planter, and in 1839 he and his wife moved to Dallas County, Alabama. Here he rose rapidly in the practice of law. He was elected to the lower house of the state legislature in 1841 and to the upper house in 1843. In 1844 he was elected to Congress but he resigned his seat on September 1, 1846. Henceforth, Yancey did not seek political office but devoted his great oratorical ability to the purpose of uniting the Southern people for independence. "It would seem presumptuous," says Dwight L. Dumond, "to say that without him there would have been no Confederate States of America, but it is probably so." See Dumond's sketch, in *Dictionary of American Biography*, XX, 592-95.

¹⁴ Pierre A. Rost was born in France and reared in Louisiana. He was one of the first diplomatic envoys sent to Europe by the Confederate government. His only qualification for the important diplomatic post was, according to Frank L. Owsley, in *King Cotton Diplomacy* (Chicago, 1931), 53, an "acquaintance with Judah P. Benjamin and Jefferson Davis and a poor knowledge of the French language."

¹⁵ Ambrose Dudley Mann (April 26, 1801-November, 1889) was born at Hanover Court House, Virginia. In 1842 Mann was the United States consul at Bremen and he was given diplomatic powers in 1846 as special commissioner to the German States to negotiate commercial treaties. As the Civil War approached, he became increasingly identified with the Southern Rights party. He advocated free trade with Europe and was especially interested in the economic independence of the South. "So when the South withdrew from the Union in 1861 the choice of Mann as joint commissioner with Yancey and Rost and as associate commissioner with Mason and Slidell was not entirely illogical." See sketch by Frank L. Owsley, in *Dictionary of American Biography*, XII, 239-40.

confidence, at least without any that had weight enough in them to inspire me with much confidence.

Mr. Yancey was certainly a great man in some respects, perhaps in his line of greatness one of the greatest the South has produced. He did more to fire the Southern heart than any other orator we had. He was singularly felicitous, forceable and convincing in the discussion of the questions between the North and the South, and he swayed the multitude that came within the sound of his voice in his great speeches, at will. I heard him in his speech at the Clay monument in New Orleans, after the Presidential election of 1860. There was an immense concourse assembled to hear him, and he held his audience spell-bound for two hours, and such was the enthusiasm aroused that it really seemed as though he could have led the crowd into the Mississippi River had there been an enemy there to charge.

Mr. Yancey's mission ended with the outbreak of hostilities. Though called back from Europe, by his election to the Senate of the Confederate States, there is no record in the public mind of anything he did there or elsewhere, in any capacity, that placed him above the average patriots of the day; and it may be said that it was rather the recollection of what he had done, than anything he was doing, that kept him from sinking into obscurity. He died during the war greatly lamented, leaving a vacant seat in the Senate, which it was easy to fill.

Mr. Yancey would have better served the Confederacy by continuing after the war began in the field of his ante-bellum labors and services. He would have been invaluable before the people in periods of flagging patriotism and enthusiasm, and in addressing our soldiers on the eve of battle. Having kindled the flame he knew how to feed it, and keep it alive. The scepter of the great Northern agitator, Wendell Phillips, fell from his hands when slavery was abolished, and in his later days, as one of his admirers and eulogists has said, "he impulsively took up questions to which he contributed nothing but courage and vehemence." His occupation was gone. It is God alone with whom "*All things are possible.*" It may be said that Mr. Yancey's occupation was gone when the war began. Men indeed seem to have their missions, and it is painful to see a great mind struggling against what is apparently the decree of Providence—leaving its orbit, and wandering, like a star of the first magnitude, in paths where its light, if not obscured, is certainly not needed.

THE MISTRESS OF OAKLEY¹⁶

During the investment of Vicksburg by Grant's army, the few families remain-

¹⁶ "The Mistress of Oakley" was Mrs. S. S. Booth whose husband had come from Petersburg, Virginia, in the 1830's. Mrs. Booth was a member of the Valentine family of Mississippi. "Oakley," the ante-bellum house, still stands but is in a very poor state of repair. The house and adjoining acres are owned by the Duncan family and are generally known in the vicinity as the "Duncan Chicken and Turkey Farm."

ing at their homes in the neighborhood of the city were subjected to innumerable annoyances, to great losses, and to many insults. It was a time that tried to the utmost the patience, fortitude, courage and fidelity of the sufferers, and the display of these qualities, especially on the part of our heroic women, was most remarkable. It was a period to bring out character, to develop the latent energies and active resources of the minds of those who were called to confront the ugly issues of the situation.

At one of these homes, a seat of wealth, refinement and hospitality, eight miles east of the city, there dwelt a couple, man and wife, then nearing their semi-centennial period, with a brown-eyed and rosy cheeked little girl—their youngest—as the only other inmate of their elegant home, an older sister being off at school, and the two sons then grown, being in the army. The father, a Virginian by birth, and the mother a native Mississippian, a descendant of one of the oldest and most respected families and first settlers, had their hearts as well as their sons in the cause of the Confederacy. It is easy to conceive, by those who know the mother at this home, how her tall and stately form rose to its utmost height, and how her black eyes flashed out their native fire as she first beheld the invader tread the lawns and halls of beloved and beautiful “Oakley.”

But she was of that mental mould that rises rather than sinks in the presence of misfortune and adversity, and which seeks to master the situation as well as to be equal to the occasion.

One day, when on an early morning visit to a neighbor, some two miles distant, a messenger came to her in haste from home with a note from Mr. B. informing her that the soldiers had driven off her ten milch cows and the big bull, with some twenty head of other cattle; and advising her to watch the public road near her, as he did not know by what route they had left the place. Mounting her mule and getting a maiden lady at the house where she was, to join her in the ride, she made haste to get on the track of the stolen herd. After an hour's search she succeeded in finding in one of the public roads the broad and scraping track of the big bull. She followed the track to a point four miles north of Vicksburg when she came to the camp of General McArthur, and found her cattle in his slaughter pen being prepared for the butcher's knife. She rode up boldly to the pen, read her protection papers and *ordered* the soldiers not to touch her cattle until she could see the General, whose headquarters she then proceeded to, finding him but a short distance off with his tents pitched at the top of one of the loftiest peaks of this almost mountainous region, with a large covered space for his officers, the ground being spread with carpets from the parlors of the neighborhood, and other equally elegant furnishings, distributed around. Dismounting, they presented themselves in the beautiful vineclad arbor where the General and his brilliant staff were collected in full uniform. . . . The madam introduced herself and friend to the General, and stated her business, handing him the long official envelope containing her protection papers. He read them and said, “I suppose madam you are all right.”

"Yes, sir, I am," was the ready reply.

"To be more definite," he said again, "I suppose you have taken the oath, have you?"

"I decline to answer the question, my protection papers entitle me to the protection of my property."

"Well, madam, you could not have obtained these papers without taking the oath."

"I have not said that I took it, sir, but I want my property."

These direct and energetic responses led the General to think in terms of accommodation. He said he was out of fresh meat and must have *some*. She then stipulated that if she could have the milch cows and the big bull he might keep the others. An orderly was sent with her to the pen and she drove out the cows and as the bull, coming last, stepped over the gap, the soldiers who had collected about the pen in force gave a great "hurrah for Secesh," which made the welkin ring again. Then some of the soldiers volunteered to help her drive them as far as the big road. Reaching it she turned homeward, and as the "evening shades prevailed" she landed the lowing herd at home, finding the "gude man" of the house in great distress at her protracted absence, but when she led him to the gallery and he heard the bellowing and saw the pawing of the big bull, heard the lowing of the cows and the bleating of the happy calves at the return of their mothers, he could but break out with the exclamation, "Great is woman! And my Ann is her prophet." (This small herd of cattle, together with their progeny, yielded to the mistress of their home in the first seven years after the war, no less than \$3700.00 for butter alone as per actual account kept.)

On the road from Grand Gulf to Rocky Springs, distance seven miles from the former place, was one of those delightful plantation homes then common in the South, known as Ingleside, the home and property of Mrs. Maria Sessions who with her daughter just grown, and a son, a lad of fourteen, resided together with a large number of comfortably quartered slaves upon the place when Grant, after landing at Bruinsburg and after fighting the battle of Port Gibson, was passing on the direction of Vicksburg. Two widowed relatives, each with a grown daughter and both refugees from New Orleans were also inmates of this hospitable and comfortable home.

On the Sunday morning after the battle of Port Gibson, as these ladies sat upon the gallery of the residence, talking about their unpleasant surroundings and the war in their very midst and anxiously what would be their fate, two young soldiers on horseback and in confederate uniform dashed up the beautiful lawn shaded with widespreading oaks, and which extended to the public road. The lady of the house rose from her seat as they neared the gallery and without waiting for the usual salutation excitedly warned them that they were in great

danger, that the Confederates were retreating, and that the hated *Yankees* were in hot pursuit. They reigned up and lifting their caps, smilingly informed her that they themselves were Yankees! The good lady took in the situation at once and out of politeness of policy commenced apologizing saying she meant Federals when she said Yankees! But before she could finish the apology the young troopers bowed, turned about and dashed back to the public road.

The laughing at the expense of the good lady had hardly subsided when a cloud of dust in the big road betokened the approach of a body of cavalry. When the gate opening into the lawn was reached, it was swung open and the party entered. It was the illustrious Grant, and his staff with a bodyguard of some fifty cavalymen. The ladies, except the hostess, retired and closed the doors as the party uninvited dismounted and turned their horses loose upon the beautiful lawn with its rare and beautiful shrubbery and flowers. The General and his staff occupied the gallery and as the dinner hour was approaching gave the good lady to understand that their wants on that line must be supplied. The guards, meantime busily inspecting the premises, going from house to house, and from room to room, seeking what they might devour and capture, without let or hindrance from the great Captain. It was only a graceful and selfpossessing way they had of making themselves at home! Some of the chickens, on being chased about the yard and through the hall, took refuge under General Grant's chair, when one of the officers remarked, "Why General even the chickens are claiming your protection." Tradition has not handed down the witty reply of the General! We may assume that he "smiled" and possibly changed the pocket of that "toothbrush" which General Washburn said in a speech in Congress was all of the "baggage" he carried for six days in this march upon Vicksburg. The officer who made the remark about the chickens went on to express himself pretty freely about the wanton destruction of property by the army. It came out some way that he was a Marylander and the three widows who were themselves native Marylanders vowed to the days of their death that he was the only gentleman in the crowd.

The good things which the well-supplied larder had supplied for the "free lunch" were greedily devoured, without help from the ladies, the hospitable guests entirely forgetting to invite them to grace the occasion with their presence. After spending about two hours in this "nooning" the horses were called in from their free lunch on shrubbery and delicate flowers, and the party "mounted" and rode off to other fields and pastures new, and to "disperse the insurgents," leaving Ingleside despoiled of much of its treasure and with the appearance of having had a short visit from some despoiling cyclone.

GEORGE POINDEXTER¹⁷

The Legislature of our State commissioned George Poindexter, Esq., to revise the Statutes of Mississippi, and *codify* them; and requested him, in all cases where he might deem it necessary, to suggest amendments to existing Statutes, or to frame Statutes where none existed, to meet important wants of the State, subject to the action of the Legislature. This various commission he executed to general satisfaction, except in one particular. In framing the Law in regard to Slaves, he introduced a provision, that any number of slaves more than three or five, I forget which, engaged in any Religious exercises, without the presence of a regularly ordained white Preacher, should be regarded as an unlawful assemblage; and as such, be liable to punishment, within certain limits, by the patrol. This law was enacted by the Legislature, I presume with no proper attention to its provisions. Such a wanton curtailment of the Religious privileges of the slaves, and such an outrageous invasion of the rights of white men, who, by the provisions of this act, were interdicted from praying with their slaves, if they

¹⁷ This estimate of George Poindexter appears in the unpublished "Autobiography" of William Winans (November 3, 1788-August 31, 1857), who was born near Braddock's Grave on Chestnut Ridge in Pennsylvania. William was the youngest of five children. His father died in 1790, and after living for a time in Green and Fayette counties, Pennsylvania, Mrs. Winans and her children moved about 1800 to Clermont County, Ohio. Here William joined the Methodist Episcopal church in 1805, received license to exhort in 1807, and was licensed to preach in 1808. His first regular appointment was the Limestone Circuit in southern Ohio and northern Kentucky, but after one year he was transferred to the Vincennes Circuit which embraced all the settlements on the Wabash and White rivers from the Indiana line to the Ohio River. While on this circuit he formed a lasting acquaintance with William Henry Harrison. The Annual Conference of 1810 appointed Winans to the Claiborne and Wilkinson Circuit in Mississippi Territory where he arrived, at Port Gibson, on December 5, 1810. From this date until his death, Winans was connected with some phase of the work of the Methodist church in Mississippi and in the New Orleans Circuit in Louisiana. Baton Rouge College, Louisiana, conferred the degree of Doctor of Divinity upon him in 1821. He was perhaps the greatest Methodist in the Southwest in the first half of the nineteenth century. The Winans "Autobiography" together with many of his other papers are in the Department of Archives and History, Jackson, Mississippi. There is a brief biographical sketch of him, in *Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Mississippi*, 2 vols. (Chicago, 1891), II, 1059.

Poindexter (1779-September 5, 1853) was born in Louisa County, Virginia. Migrating to Mississippi Territory in 1802, he was shortly appointed attorney general by W. C. Claiborne. In 1805 he became a member of the territorial assembly, and he served in the lower house of Congress from March 4, 1807, to March 3, 1813. He played a very important rôle in the making of Mississippi's first constitution in 1817. He was governor of Mississippi in 1820-1821. After serving out the unexpired term of Robert H. Adams in the United States Senate, October 15, 1830, to March 3, 1835, Poindexter was defeated for re-election by Robert J. Walker. He never again served in public office. See sketch by Charles S. Sydnor, in *Dictionary of American Biography*, XV, 29-30; Mack Swearingen, *The Early Life of George Poindexter, A Story of the First Southwest* (New Orleans, 1934).

amounted to more than the specified number, unless they were themselves regularly ordained Preachers, and which withheld the slaves from the enjoyment of Prayer and Class meetings, unless led by a regularly ordained white Preacher, aroused very general and strong feelings of opposition in all Christian communities in the State; and it was deemed proper that this opposition should be made to bear in a manner most forcible with politicians. Fortunately for this purpose, Poindexter was a candidate to represent the State in Congress. My position, as Presiding Elder of a District embracing the large portion of voters, rendered my opposition more conspicuous than that of any other individual; and I determined to render that opposition as effectual in the condemnation of the obnoxious Statute as possible. With this view, I was careful to put my opposition to Poindexter solely upon this ground. Indeed, but for this iniquitous legislation, I should have preferred him to his opponent, C. Rankin, Esq., and so I was careful to declare on all suitable occasions. Earnest as I was, however, to defeat Mr. Poindexter, I was careful to shun everything like electioneering in my pulpit or other official performances. Once, and only once, in a long and exciting canvass, was I understood to allude in any way, in the pulpit, to the subject which was exciting so general an interest in the whole Church. On the day before the election, I think it was, in preaching on the increase of vice in our Country, I instanced the vice of drunkenness, and observed, "When I first came to this county I thought there was less of this vice in it than any I was ever in; but, it is so increased that of all classes from those who are lowest to those in high official stations, men are to be found who are not ashamed of being seen wallowing in the filth of this debauch in the very streets." As soon as I had pronounced these words, I apprehended that I would be charged with having aimed them against Poindexter, with a view to operate against his election. Accordingly, as I came down from the stand—it was at a camp meeting—someone said to me, "You meant that for Poindexter." But I certainly did not, at least with any reference to his election. His addictedness to drunkenness, and his having often been picked up in the streets were matters of general notoriety; and it was very natural to suppose that my reference to the matter, though entirely in general, were terms designed to prevent his election. But it was not. Indeed, I did not wish him defeated, only as he stood related to the slave law. He was defeated, much to his surprise as well as mortification; and he ascribed his defeat to my opposition on account of that law. In conversing with Judge Burnet of Cincinnati, he declared, "I was not beaten by Rankin, but by an old black man named Winter belonging to Parson Winans." The politicians believed that he was beaten on account of that law, which was modified at the next session of the Legislature, according to a suggestion, which, at his request, I made to the representative from Wilkinson county. The provision then inserted in the Slave law, for the regulation of their Religious assemblies, has ever since been in force, almost in the precise terms of my recommendation. My remarks at the

camp-meeting were reported, how correctly I know not, to Poindexter, who, in consequence, extensively circulated a report that "pending the late election I had uttered lies from the pulpit against him." In the ensuing Spring, there was a camp-meeting at Bethel, very numerously attended. Poindexter was there. When the congregation was largest, I took occasion to say that it had been extensively reported—I did not say *by whom*—that, pending the late election, I had uttered lies from the pulpit against one of the candidates. I took care not to name, nor in any way to indicate the candidate referred to. This report I pronounced to be *utterly false*; and pledged myself to prove it so, if any one would come forward and state the falsehood, imputed to me, and the time and place of my uttering them. Poindexter was not disposed to put me upon the proof, but, in a message to Brother Burruss, apologizing for not remaining to hear him preach, he charged me with having grossly insulted him before the congregation. Several of his warm political friends said that there was nothing in what I had said calculated in the least to give offense, and viewed his conduct on the occasion as extremely foolish. The truth I suppose to have been that he knew that what he had been reporting of me was false, but would cover his retreat by affecting to be publicly insulted by one whom he could not call to account. But his course availed him nothing, but the report against me fell dead, and was heard of no more. His resentment at me continued for years, and, until hearing that I advocated his election against T. B. Reed, Esq., he suddenly became very friendly to me, and so continued until the time of my late interview with him in 1840. Mr. Poindexter was unrivaled by any man ever in the State, in natural advantage for political life. His intellectual capacity was of superior grade. He had brilliant fancy, great readiness of apprehension, and shrewdness, which enabled him to press every advantage which presented itself into his immediate service. He had, too, colloquial powers which I have rarely seen equaled; and he had, moreover, a measure of confidence and self-possession which placed him perfectly at ease in the conflicts of political competition in which he was engaged. I mean intellectual conflicts; for there is no reason to believe that he was not at all at ease in the prospects of physical conflicts. He would have been, I verily believe, one of the greatest men I ever knew, had moral principles exercised control over his actions. But of this, I considered him *utterly* destitute. Whatever he esteemed conducive to the success of his personal ambition, became, for the time being, the rule of his conduct; and, when there was no scope for the operation of this motive, personal gratification was his chief, nay, his only recognized good. Moral corruption and great talents rendered him a very dangerous man in Society; and, accordingly, he impressed a character of demagoguism and regardlessness of truth upon the politics of this State, which still continues to exercise a most deleterious influence. The evil he did lives after him. How fearful the responsibility resting on such men! It were far more desirable to be the simple-hearted, honest clod-hopper, with no reach

of thought beyond the limits of his humble avocation, no ambition beyond that of performing the duties of that avocation respectably, than to be a great man after the pattern of Senator George Poindexter, on whose eloquence men of great intellect and acquirements have often hung with rapt attention, and who was often elevated to high offices of trust and honor, by the suffrages of his fellow-citizens. He outlived all public confidence; and though ambitious to the last of power and distinction, before his death, he reached a point at which "none were so poor as to do him reverence." His death, which occurred only a short time ago, produced scarcely any sensation. He sunk to the grave "Unhonored and unsung"—not only abhorred, but despised. A consummation, O how different from what it would have been had he been what he often pretended to be, a patriot and an upright man!

Book Reviews

The Marcus W. Jernean Essays in American Historiography. By His Former Students at the University of Chicago. Edited by William T. Hutchinson. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937. Pp. x, 417. \$4.00.)

This *Festschrift* in honor of Professor Jernean contains essays upon American historians and their work written by his former students. The historians selected for review are Bancroft, Hildreth, Parkman, von Holst, Schouler, Wilson, McMaster, Fiske, Rhodes, Adams, Mahan, Roosevelt, Turner, Osgood, Channing, Beer, Alvord, Van Tyne, Phillips, Beveridge, and Parrington. The essays vary somewhat in length, and only Fiske and von Holst appear to receive more attention than their reputations would seem to warrant. It is difficult to understand the inclusion of Woodrow Wilson, whose historical writings were the least meritorious that came from his pen. A high level of interest is maintained throughout the volume, and the several authors have conscientiously and temperately appraised their subjects. Read together with Michel Kraus' *History of American History*, the graduate student will obtain a really intelligible introduction to this field.

In general a uniform plan of presentation has been followed, but, fortunately, no rigid editorial restrictions have been imposed. Most of the essays include some biographical material, a concise statement of the content of the man's work, a discussion of the historian's biases and of his style, a critique of his work in the light of modern standards, and an appraisal of his contribution in the field of American history. Several authors, with marked success, have cut loose from this frame of reference. Professor Commager's interpretation of Henry Adams, written in the Adams manner, is a brilliant introduction to his philosophy of history. The reader will find in Professor Craven's intimate, interpretative essay upon Turner ample evidence for refuting the anti-Turnerians. In a single footnote (p. 258), he skillfully disposes of "the most rabid and least understanding of Turner's critics."

The historians themselves were an interesting group of men. A large proportion of them, including the "rebel" Parrington, attended Harvard; a goodly number obtained German training; many held high public office; and several were successful business men. Although all of them paid lip service to objectivity, many fell by the wayside because of philosophic assumptions, or convictions which they never paused to question. In spite of the yearning of several authors for history written as "an act of faith," the reader will find revealed pitfalls that

engulfed many a first-class mind. History as "the design of Providence" plagued Bancroft and several others; theories of "national destiny" intrude again and again; the Anglo-Saxon version of Nordicism colored the work of others; and half-baked theories of progress fascinated many of them. A number of these giants conjured the lessons of history and the laws of history, to no good end. Henry Adams, absorbed to a greater extent than the others with the "why" of history, emerged with the Law of the Dissipation of Energy; only to turn his back altogether upon science and cast his lot with the Church Maternal. "The Virgin was not rational," paraphrases Mr. Commager, "but she was the most rational thing in an irrational universe."

The writers know only too well how history should not be written, and this book is sound grounding in methodology. A number of them unnecessarily labor the question of history as art versus science, and the nature of scientific history. Objectivity is lauded by some, yet questioned by others because of alleged shortcomings. History, however, is scientific in so far as its methodology is scientific. A mere recital of facts has never been regarded as the criterion of good history. Much higher processes are involved, and these do not negate interpretation. "Charles A. Beard," writes Mr. Strevey, "answered Beveridge's statement that facts, properly arranged, eliminated interpretation by contending that 'the moment you say arrangement you say interpretation.'" Although Mr. Craven writes that Turner "undoubtedly viewed history as an art rather than as a science," he adduces ample evidence that this "careful, scholarly craftsman" contributed greatly to the scientific method, which, after all, is history's only claim as a science. Mr. Fahrney presses hard "that newest phenomenon in American historiography which frankly rejects true objectivity as neither existent nor desirable and strives for a 'grand philosophy,' around which historians, with the scientific method serving rather than dictating, may weave the facts of history into a pattern designed to hasten civilization forward to some desired end." Possibly the only contribution history or any other social science will ever make to the study of society is a refinement of method in handling social data. This may, in itself, constitute "an act of faith"; while the desire to hasten civilization forward to some desired end may yield—only propaganda.

Vanderbilt University

JOHN POMFRET

Ante-Bellum North Carolina: A Social History. By Guion Griffis Johnson. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1937. Pp. xvi, 935. Bibliography, tables. \$6.00.)

This book is truly monumental. The most comprehensive social history of any Southern state in the ante-bellum era, it covers every phase of life and every social class. And withal it is well authenticated; its voluminous 320,000 words of text are based on no fewer than 2,845 references, mostly to primary sources.

It is an open secret that *Ante-Bellum North Carolina* was a close runner-up

for the Mayflower Cup, awarded each year for the best book published by a native or a resident North Carolinian. With no intent to disparage the excellent work which finally received the award, the reviewer is of the opinion that the cup should have gone to Mrs. Johnson.

After an introductory chapter on colonial origins, Mrs. Johnson presents panoramic and kaleidoscopic pictures of life in all its realistic and authentically romantic details. To be specific, there are pictorial analyses of social characteristics; social classes; rural life; towns and town life; courtship and marriage customs; family life; public and private schools and colleges; religious denominations; camp meetings and revivals; public and church benevolences; means of social control; the slave system, its social life and its black code; antislavery sentiment; the free Negro; the court system; the care of unfortunates; sanitation and health; newspapers and periodicals; and the intellectual awakening in the forties and fifties.

From the most backward state in the Union, North Carolina rose by the 1850's—thanks to the democratizing influence of the interior, the large proportion of yeoman farmers, and a leadership with social vision—to the most progressive state in the South. Despite the fiction perpetuated by certain historians that the South was wholly devoid of public education prior to the advent of the Carpetbagger, North Carolina developed a system of free public schools in the 1840's and 1850's which other Southern states were in a way to pattern after—a system not essentially different from that contemporaneously developed in the Middle West. Furthermore, it ranked near the top in the 1850's in proportion to its wealth, in internal improvements and industrial and commercial expansion.

North Carolina was not quite typical, to be sure, of the Southern states. Although 27.7 per cent of its white families owned slaves in 1860, only 11.7 per cent of these owned twenty or more, and only 2.1 per cent fifty or more; whereas 70.8 per cent owned fewer than ten, and nearly 50 per cent fewer than five. If the yeoman and middle-class groups came to be relatively well placed, however, the "poor-white" hangers-on and the wage earners were apparently worse off than elsewhere. "North Carolina had the lowest average wage scale of any state in the Union" (p. 70). Some of the "poor whites" were miserable tenant farmers; many were tolerated squatters on abandoned lands, doing occasional jobs for their more prosperous neighbors. Their degeneracy, it now appears, was due in large measure to hookworm and malaria.

Among a relatively few families the planter way of life was to be found at its best. Mrs. Johnson's findings tend to confirm those of Gaines and others that the exaggerations of traditionalists in this matter have been "more quantitative than qualitative." Aristocracy, as the term has been applied with reference to the Old South, was not of course confined, as the author makes clear, to the planter class, nor did it properly apply to all of them; there were professional and even some business men who merited and enjoyed the highest social rank. And upper-

class standards evidently had a potent influence upon those of lower ranks. There was apparently greater social fluidity in North Carolina than in Virginia and South Carolina. By the 1850's newspapers were beginning to lament the appearance of bourgeois trends in some of the towns (p. 80).

The plain farmers are pictured in their corn shuckings, house-raising, fence buildings, cotton pickings, wood choppings and the like; also in dance frolics, singings, and gatherings at country taverns, crossroad stores, fairs, churches, schools, lodges, and county seats during court week. Always there was the conflict between aristocratic humanism plus plain-folk hedonism against militant Puritanism. In the towns were grogshops, fraternal lodges, dancing places (public and private), benevolent and literary clubs, circulating libraries, and lyceums.

The reviewer has used the book with gratifying results in his course in North Carolina history.

The Woman's College of the
University of North Carolina

ALEX MATHEWS ARNETT

John Norton & Sons, Merchants of London and Virginia. Being the Papers from their Counting House for the Years 1750 to 1795. Edited by Frances Norton Mason. (Richmond: The Dietz Press, 1937. Pp. [xii], 573. Illustrations. \$6.00.)

Among the manuscripts in the keeping of the Department of Research and Education of Colonial Williamsburg, Incorporated, is a notable collection of letters and mercantile papers—5,000 items—dealing with trade between the house of John Norton & Sons of London and Virginia and its Virginia correspondents. They cover a half century of Virginia history, and center about the trade of Virginia tobacco and British goods. Through the generosity of members of the Norton family these papers are now preserved in that region in Virginia with which they are associated, and more than 350 letters, with some typical invoices, have been published. Mrs. Mason has also added a few letters from the original letter book of William Nelson in the Virginia State Library, intercepted letters which are now in the British Public Record Office (copies in possession of Colonial Williamsburg, Inc.), Norton letters in the Valentine Museum in Richmond, and letters from a photostat copy of the Reynolds letter book at the Colonial National Historical Park at Yorktown.

The editor has arranged the letters chronologically, prefacing those of each year with an interesting list of events of that period, and has added a very useful "Biographical Appendix." The historical scholar would question the inclusion or omission of some of the events in the chapter prefaces, and would object to the form in which references in "Acknowledgements" are given (for example, the *Dictionary of American Biography* is cited as "Scribner's American Biographies," and no distinction is made among the several *Virginia Gazettes* published in Williamsburg). These faults, however, do not affect the manuscripts them-

selves and are of small moment in a work of such great interest and value; and, as Mrs. Mason states, the documents, which have been carefully transcribed, speak for themselves. The index, prepared by Mrs. Helen D. Bullock, archivist of Colonial Williamsburg, Incorporated, is exceedingly well done and gives unity to the scattered items of the many important topics of the work. The attractive format of the book is in keeping with its contents.

The letters are of unusual interest. Many of them were written with intimate frankness between members of the family. In them are found, not only much information about trade and business conditions in Great Britain and in Virginia, but also interesting comments on politics, glimpses into the social and intellectual life of the times, and even some amusing gossip about familiar characters. The Nortons were connected by blood or by marriage with many of the most important families in Virginia. John Norton, senior member of the firm, had spent many years in the colony and had a wide circle of friends there. He was, therefore, well acquainted with the people with whom he corresponded. In 1773, when chosen as the London agent of the Virginia Committee of Correspondence, he agreed to send such information as the Committee had requested and to make diligent "inquiries after all other Acts or Resolutions of parliament or proceedings of administration . . . that may in any degree affect any of the Colonies of America, and like a faithful watchman acquaint you therewith" (pp. 336-37; also *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, VIII, 24). John Hatley Norton, his son, who represented the company in Virginia, married a daughter of Robert Carter Nicholas, one of the finest and most influential men in Virginia. He remained in Virginia and was loyal to its cause during the Revolution.

In these pages may be found a record of much of the background to civil strife and revolution—economic strain of bad crop years and debts to British firms, and foolish laws to protect British interests at home which were bringing hardships to the colonists and threatening the liberties of British people everywhere with changes in the constitution.

The letters written by prominent Virginians and the nature of the books being ordered by them give additional evidence of the well-reasoned, intelligent, and moderate conduct of these men as the Revolution approached. In the words of William Nelson, "We are I believe determined to a Man to behave with Decency, Duty & Respect" (pp. 76-77).

John Norton & Sons, Merchants of London and Virginia is well worth reading from cover to cover, for nowhere in such convenient form can one get such a varied and colorful picture of Virginia on the eve of the Revolution.

College of William and Mary

RICHARD L. MORTON

Archibald Cary of Amphill: Wheelhorse of the Revolution. By Robert K. Brock. (Richmond: Garrett and Massie, 1937. Pp. xi, 183. Bibliography, illustrations. \$3.00.)

"No man perhaps in the entire colony of Virginia," declares the author, "through so long a period served his country so well and with such fidelity, as did Archibald Cary of Amphill."

Cary, a typical "Tuckahoe," lived on his fine estate, Amphill, overlooking the James six miles below Richmond. There he was visited by the great and near great of his day, including his intimate friends, Washington and Jefferson. He owned very extensive tracts of land in several counties of Middle Virginia. His large and varied business operations included the manufacture of iron, rope, and gunpowder. His flour mill at Warwick, which was burned by Arnold, was one of the largest and finest in the state. Although he was at one time very wealthy, his estate was much involved at the time of his death.

While in his twenties Cary entered the House of Burgesses and served for more than thirty years, first from Goochland and later from Chesterfield County. He became chairman of the powerful committee of public claims, and by the time of the Revolution was one of the outstanding leaders in Virginia. His name appears more often in the journal of the last session of the Burgesses than that of any other man. In the Revolutionary conventions only Pendleton exerted an influence equal to that of Cary. It was Cary who reported the resolution which directed the Virginia delegates in the Continental Congress to declare for independence. It was Cary who headed the committees which wrote Virginia's first constitution. With the establishment of a state government, he was unanimously elected speaker of the senate, an office which he held until his death in 1787. Cary's leadership embraced and united colony and commonwealth as did that of no other man. He took no part in national politics, was not an orator or a writer, and so has failed to attract the attention of historians, but in his day his leadership was unquestioned.

This biography, written in a pleasing style, should do much to re-establish Cary's reputation, but it falls far short of the possibilities in that it makes almost no contribution to the sum total of our knowledge of the period in which Cary made history. Its chief value lies in the fact that previously scattered information is here collected together into one book. Though the author has gathered a large number of interesting facts, he has failed to explore any of the many important movements with which Cary was connected. His researches are incomplete, and at times he is mistaken. There are a number of incorrect dates, one of which leads the author to confuse the Association of June 22, 1770, with that of May 27, 1774 (p. 61). The Convention of August, 1774, was not called because Dunmore dissolved the Burgesses (p. 64), but because dispatches were received from Boston urging united action against the ministry. Cary stigmatised not

Christopher Gist (p. 99), but his son Nathaniel Gist. It is to be regretted that the author did not make use of the manuscripts available in Richmond, Washington, and New York.

Fourteen letters to or from Archibald Cary, two of which have not been previously published, are printed in an appendix. For some reason the two letters from Cary to William Preston quoted in the text of the book are omitted here. The author has generally copied the letters from printed editions which are often abridged or inaccurate. There are about a dozen other Cary letters which are not included.

The book has a very good index, but an incomplete and inaccurate bibliography, and no footnotes.

Lynchburg, Virginia

W. M. E. RACHAL

History of Fredericksburg, Virginia. By Alvin T. Embrey. (Richmond: Old Dominion Press, 1937. Pp. 202. Illustrations. \$2.50.)

Situated, as it is, at the western end of the famed Northern Neck of Virginia; at the fall line of the Rappahannock River which leads back to one of the easiest crossings over the Blue Ridge Mountains of Virginia into the Shenandoah Valley; almost equally distant from the national and the Confederate capitals during the Civil War; marked by nature to be the meeting place of boat, wagon, railroad, army, merchant, and citizen, the little city of Fredericksburg has had a remarkable past. Home town or nearest shopping center of such notables as Governor Spotswood, George Washington, John Paul Jones, James Monroe, Matthew Fontaine Maury, John Taylor of Caroline, the Lees, the Lewises, and the Mercers, it is rich in historic interest of which, even to this day, its shrines, quaint entrances, and "atmosphere," as well as its documents, are evidence. From this spot proceeded John Lederer on his way to the West near the close of the third quarter of the seventeenth century. Nearby were the German settlement of Germanna and Spotswood's iron mines. A little westward are the Wilderness and Chancellorsville, a little to the south is Spotsylvania Court House. At the edge of the city are the Sunken Road, Marye's Heights, and national and Confederate cemeteries. Here, in 1777, met Thomas Jefferson, Edmund Pendleton, George Wythe, George Mason, and Thomas Ludwell Lee to prepare a revision of the legal code of Virginia. Here, according to the author, appeared on April 30, 1789, the following to be admitted to practice as attorneys: James Monroe, John Marshall, John Taylor of Caroline, John F. Mercer, Bushrod Washington, W. W. Hening, and others.

The volume under review contains many interesting facts but it is evident throughout that the writer is not a trained historian. He fails to plan an ordered account or to relate it to the broader story. The study throws little light upon the problem of interpreting the forces that have been at work in the making of Virginia or the nation. The treatment is discursive and digressive. References

and bibliography are not included, though there is an index. In a three-page chapter we are taken from Governor Spotswood to Herbert Hoover! The volume is obviously the work of an amateur. Still, historical students should be thankful that amateurs are sufficiently interested in history to take up their pens to write.

Randolph-Macon College

E. L. Fox

Western Lands and the American Revolution. By Thomas Perkins Abernethy. (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1937. Pp. xv, 413. Bibliography, maps. \$4.00.)

In this volume Professor Abernethy sets himself the task of bringing together "in a single narrative an account of the American West from the time when its exploitation was begun by English colonists to the end of the Confederation period," with emphasis primarily upon the political aspects of the ventures into Western lands. He does not offer to retell the story of the land companies or of the legislation that shaped the destiny of the West, although he does offer the pertinent suggestion that this oft-told story has not been finished; it "should be carried beyond the limits of the Confederation period if its significance is to be made clear."

It is inevitable that, in any history of Western lands in the Revolutionary era, Virginia should play the stellar rôle, for in magnitude Virginia's claims upon the land surpassed all the rest. Therefore it is mainly from the Virginian watchtower that Professor Abernethy surveys the push and thrust of the eager speculators—not of those who would go up into the land to possess it, but of those who would possess it without going up into it; of those who, from comfortable seats along the seaboard, would reach out their long tentacles and be first to grasp the land of promise.

From the first planting of the Virginian settlement the unknown and dread-some hinterland beckoned and lured. Beyond those hazy mountains lay, no doubt, the smiling South Sea, and beyond that "the wealth of Ormus and of Ind." Yet a little while and the South Sea and all its magnificent promises had vanished, and lo! the visions of those who searched were filled with a vista of limitless lands of incalculable richness. By the beginning of the eighteenth century those eager tentacles were being thrust thither and yon into that vast domain of wealth that was to be had for the taking, by the middle of the century eager interest in the land beyond the mountains was manifesting itself on an extensive scale, and by the time the Revolution came on land speculation, or "land-grabbing," if you prefer, had become the great American pastime and was coloring (should we say, *tainting*?) the politics of more than one of the colonies.

Even the Revolutionary struggle itself, in Professor Abernethy's view, was affected in ways that were important, if not also in ways that were dark, by the virus of land speculation; and the great, the patriotic, Continental Congress did

not escape its pernicious influence. To be sure, while the struggle for independence raged, the speculators were for the most part quiescent, yet even so, the motivation of many of their actions is to be traced to their interests in Western lands. No sooner, however, had the contest ended than the rash broke out afresh and with all the greater violence all over the body politic. "A study of land speculation," says Professor Abernethy, "does not present an altogether flattering picture of the 'Fathers' of the Revolutionary period." "Some were quite willing that the Appalachians should form the western boundary of the new Union; others were ready to thwart the formation of the Union in the interest of their Western lands; and still others engineered the separatist movements in the West in an effort to protect their land claims. The very integrity of the young Republic depended on the contest of the speculators." In short, "men in high places . . . used their official position to fasten their claim on the one great asset the nation possessed."

It is indeed a sorry and a sordid picture, even though it is only a partial picture. Professor Abernethy does not suggest that it is the whole picture; indeed he distinctly disavows any purpose to condemn land speculators as such. Yet it is just this sordid picture that he mainly holds up before us. May it not be that, in his eagerness to point out the blots on the escutcheon, he has distracted attention from the more enduring features of that same escutcheon? The average reader will scarcely escape the impression that land speculation was a grievous sin, particularly in that era which we have wished to think of as animated solely by unselfish, even sacrificial, devotion to patriotic purpose. If Professor Abernethy has seemed to parade some of the "Fathers" in unclean garments, it was not, we are persuaded, because he thought they had no others in which they might be bedecked. Perhaps he was confronted with a genuine difficulty in producing a composite picture. Or is it possible that he derives an inward satisfaction from catching in their Saturday-night worst men who have normally been exhibited only in their Sunday-best?

If the latter conjecture be correct, this reviewer would clasp the author to his bosom. The delight of his life has been to expose false fronts, to drop banana peels of historic truth in the path of the boastful strutter. With the point of view of the widow who refused to allow her husband to be buried in a false shirt bosom, lest he make a spectacle of himself in heaven "without no shirt on," he has ever been in complete accord. In fact, his dearest wish at this moment is that he might be granted another span of life to be devoted singly to the exposure of sham of any sort, political as well as social, present as well as past. It is therefore that an undertaking such as Professor Abernethy's to reveal the naked truth (at least denuded of its stiff-bosom shirt) appeals to this reviewer as the gurgling waters of a mountain spring. And yet, he is bound to say that, after consorting more or less intimately with most of the "Fathers" through a good many years, he has come to the conclusion that, by and large, they were not a bad lot. Probably few of them would meet the requirements for canonization,

but for the good they did do they deserve our commendation. To this Professor Abernethy would probably assent—barring a few exceptions!

It is a fruitful domain in which Professor Abernethy is laboring, and he has worked this particular field with great thoroughness. The reviewer has observed a small corner or two in which he has not dug, and one such corner (he calls attention to it with an appropriate blush of modesty) is volumes VI, VII, and VIII of the *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress* (published in 1933, 1934, and 1936, respectively). Some of the materials for his purpose to be found in those volumes Professor Abernethy has unearthed elsewhere, but not all. As a single instance it is pertinent to mention that the letter of John Dawson to Governor Randolph, January 29, 1789, cited as in the Draper MSS., is in the Virginia State Library, Executive Papers, and is printed in the *Calendar of Virginia State Papers* (IV, 554) and in the *Letters of Members* (VIII, 817).

Carnegie Institution of Washington

EDMUND C. BURNETT

The Territorial Papers of the United States. Volume V, The Territory of Mississippi, 1798-1817. Compiled and edited by Clarence Edwin Carter. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1937. Pp. ix, 815. \$1.50.)

The series of publications of which this is the latest is so needed and so welcome that one would be a sorehead indeed to complain that perfection has not been achieved. Specialists in Southern history are really getting more than they have a right to ask for when the volume on the Mississippi Territory comes so close to perfection.

The papers for this collection, edited with the exacting scholarship which one always expects from Mr. Carter, come chiefly from the archives of the Departments of State, Treasury, War, Interior, and Post Office, from the House and Senate files, and from the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress. It is important to note, however, that in some instances other sources are drawn upon, and that there are copious footnotes giving cross references to a wealth of related material elsewhere, including secondary authorities.

Practically none of the documents in this volume can be found elsewhere in published form. It has been a policy of the editor not to reprint except when some special circumstances rendered it necessary or desirable. Because there has been so little publication of material on the Mississippi Territory, the number of items appearing for the second time in this volume is much smaller than in the several predecessors.

By far the most important fact disclosed by the publication of these various documents, however, is not historical but historiographical in nature. When Mr. Carter's preface explains his policy of rigid selection, one is amazed and even dismayed at the abundance of unseen material which of necessity was excluded from print and relegated again to the musty files. The realization that a fat volume on the Mississippi Territory covers only certain important matters of

administration and related topics, omitting almost entirely military and Indian affairs—to mention only two missing items—gives shocking emphasis to our ignorance. Even the papers on administrative matters have been sternly culled, and historians must derive what comfort they can, in such a limited edition, from the feeling of assurance that under Mr. Carter's guidance the selections were made with intelligence and with fine historical judgment. For reasons mostly personal, the reviewer still finds himself regretting that the Burr episode was one of the excised topics.

A few historians who have written on Mississippi have seen in Washington many of the papers published in the volume, but no one has seen all of them and most have seen none. It becomes obvious, therefore, that the story of development in the Mississippi Territory must be in large part corrected or expanded, and in some part rewritten entirely. The reviewer finds some of his own choice utterances unhappily in the latter category, as a result of the increase of material on the split in the Jeffersonian party in the territory, and on the political *nuances* discernible in the conflict over land claims. He nevertheless waits with eagerness for the second volume, which will undoubtedly maintain the high standards of the first.

Tulane University

M. SWEARINGEN

Manuscript Letters and Documents of Early Texans, 1821-1845; In Facsimile, Folio Collection of Original Documents. Selected and annotated by E. W. Winkler. (Austin: The Steck Company, 1937. Pp. xii, 314. Map. \$10.00.)

This facsimile edition of letters and documents of early Texans is unquestionably one of the real contributions found in the great mass of printed material that has appeared concerning Texas in the past few years. To the student and the lover of Texas history nothing is more precious than the original letters and documents of the men who, in one way or another, contributed to the making of the state. These letters and documents, as the compiler so well says, have "character; they are the material par excellence from which to reconstruct an account of the past. They are perfumed with sentiment; they are permeated with interest of their own and through association; they picture for us events in which the narrator was a participant." Outside the ranks of the professional scholar and investigator only the favored few are privileged to see the authentic original letters of the men who made Texas. This book will bring to many an opportunity to peruse at leisure such historical treasures.

The compiler and editor has selected 155 documents and letters from 1821 to 1845 which have been reproduced, with few exceptions, in the original size. He has added informative notes, a table of contents, and an alphabetical index to facilitate the use and understanding of the items presented. The publishers have very appropriately spared no pains in presenting these valuable and interesting documents on the best paper and in an adequate and elegant binding. The Mexi-

can seal for the years 1824 to 1825 on the front cover and that of the Republic of Texas on the back cover, together with the first reproduction in colors of the original drawing of the flag of Texas, add much to the distinctive presentation of this collection of sources.

Interested persons and even school children will now have an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the writing of the various patriots and pioneers who laid the foundation for the present commonwealth. The compiler deserves much credit for the selection of the documents, and the publishers deserve the thanks of all Texans for having made available to the general public these valuable and interesting records of the early history of Texas.

University of Texas

WINNIE ALLEN

Henry Clay: Spokesman of the New West. By Bernard Mayo. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1937. Pp. xiii, 570. Bibliography, illustrations. \$4.50.)

The Life of Henry Clay. By Glyndon G. Van Deusen. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1937. Pp. viii, 448. Illustrations. \$4.00.)

With the declaration of the War of 1812, Professor Mayo concludes the "story of young Henry Clay and of young America" in this, the first of his contemplated three-volume work on the Kentucky statesman. The reader should keep in mind the author's thesis: that a knowledge of an individual's environment is essential to a proper evaluation of his work and contribution, for considerable emphasis has been given to the life and the conditions of the West during this period. Into this picture of the social, economic, and political life of the West, Clay has been projected. At times it may appear that undue attention has been given to the background; again, it may seem that too much emphasis has been placed on Clay's importance. On the whole, however, this difficult task has been admirably done.

Clay's claim that his youth was one of dire hardship, which was probably made for political effect, is refuted by the description of his early years in Virginia. The excellent portrayal of the various activities at Lexington in 1797, where Clay settled when he migrated to Kentucky, reveals the basis of his political philosophy. Lexington was then the economic and political center west of the mountains where the crude backwoodsmen from farther west and the cultured men from the Eastern seaboard met. Shortly after his arrival, Clay began the practice of law, earned an enviable reputation as a political orator, and within two years had married Lucretia, a daughter of Thomas Hart, one of the leading business men in the state. By this fortunate marriage, he became closely associated with the ruling families of Kentucky and came into contact with the outstanding men in the fields of law, politics, trade, and manufacturing. Considering this background it is easy to understand Clay's advocacy of the American System.

In accepting George Bancroft's remark that "neither in public nor in private

did Henry Clay know how to be dull" as a challenge to be met in the standard of his work, the author has striven too much for dramatic effect. He reveals too great a fondness for certain words and phrases, he indulges in the use of extravagant expressions and in unusual figures of speech, and now and then he mixes metaphors. A few examples of each selected at random will suffice to illustrate. In speaking of the British minister, Francis James Jackson, he alludes to him repeatedly as "Copenhagen Jackson" (pp. 324, 325, 344, 349, 352, 370, 416, 473, 491). "Young Henry Clay," "the Cock of Kentucky," "beardless Henry Clay," "the disciple of Wythe," "pepper-pot," and "*sans-culotte*," are other expressions for which he shows a weakness. The following examples of sentences detract rather than add to the effectiveness of the story. "Lexington as usual was the storm center of the Western World" (p. 73). "The Western World quivered with excitement" (p. 137). "Regardless, Clay plucked a lance from the armory of George Wythe and boldly advanced to the fray" (p. 65). "Nevertheless, he boldly picked out his first political opponent and boldly assailed . . ." (p. 66). "Young Henry Clay boldly plunged into the boisterous sea of Kentucky politics. He was now to win his spurs as an Anti-Federalist, a Jeffersonian subaltern of most promising talents" (p. 69). "Perhaps Don Carlos IV appreciated the hornets' nest that he had stirred up in Henry Clay's Kentucky, and like Belshazzar of old trembled at the threatening approach of these modern Medes and Persians, these American frontiersmen whom his Louisiana governors described as predatory semi-savages" (p. 144). In the year 1800, one hardly alluded to Jefferson as "the Sage of Monticello" (p. 82).

In describing the details of important events, Mr. Mayo is at his best and, in this field, he has exhibited talent. One of the best examples of this is found in the description of events leading up to, and including, the actual declaration of the war in 1812. Although he gives too much credit to Clay and fails to consider the influence of James Monroe, the story is well told.

The author includes in his volume a twenty-one page bibliography and twenty-four well-selected illustrations. He has carefully documented his work and the proofreader has allowed few typographical errors to escape his attention. It will be interesting to follow Mr. Mayo's treatment of Clay in the more important period of his life when the remaining two volumes of the contemplated trilogy will have been published.

The biographer who attempts to tell in one volume the story of the life of as important a character as Henry Clay is confronted with a difficult task. Professor Van Deusen, however, is to be commended for the care exercised in the selection, evaluation, and interpretation of the materials he has used in *The Life of Henry Clay*. He has given attention to the proper documentation of his work and the choice of footnotes reveals his access to large and well-selected sources of materials. Although one may not agree with the author as to the emphasis placed upon some events, he has told his story in a concise, straightforward manner

eliminating few, if any, of the more important details. In the first 108 pages of the book, he traces Clay's career through the peace conference at Ghent; the story is carried through the presidential election of 1832 in the following 155 pages. In the next 150 pages, he depicts the events leading up to and including the Compromise of 1850; and in the final 12 pages of his book he gives briefly a recital of Clay's participation in affairs during the last two years of his life.

Although the author regards his subject with sympathy, and rightly adjudges Clay a great man, he makes no attempt to gloss over his errors and faults. In his treatment of the Kentucky statesman, Mr. Van Deusen is generally impartial. This impartiality is well illustrated by the conclusions he has drawn regarding Clay with reference to the declaration of the War of 1812 (pp. 86-87); the peace conference at Ghent (pp. 100-105); to Clay's serving as legal agent of the National Bank (p. 155); and to the break with John Tyler (pp. 143-47). His treatment of the Kentuckian's "middle-of-the-road position" (p. 317) on the troublesome slavery question is not flattering to the statesman; yet, in a few instances, he is inclined to excuse Clay's actions by dismissing the situations with dogmatic statements. A case in point appears in the discussion of the controversy between Jackson and the Senate over the French situation during 1834-1835. While Jackson was not blameless, neither were Clay and his Whig associates, and the reviewer is unwilling to accept unqualifiedly Mr. Van Deusen's summation that "The question really simmers down to this: If one believes in sabre-rattling diplomacy, the Whigs should be condemned; if not, they should be praised" (p. 294).

In the mechanics of writing, the author's brevity has added to the effectiveness of his efforts. In a few instances, however, it appears that a more detailed treatment of Clay's activities as they affected Jackson, Calhoun, Webster, Tyler, and foreign affairs, might have been made to advantage. The clear analyses expressed in a pleasing style of clear, chaste English with little attempt at fine writing give an excellent portrayal of the life of the founder of the American System. The general standard of writing is so high that one is surprised to find, occasionally, such expressions as: "it sprouted newspapers" (p. 310); "and was now spewed out by Jackson" (p. 246); and "Two Secretaries of the Treasury, who refused to do his bidding, had been sent flying . . ." (p. 277). In a few instances, the author fails to give the full names of individuals when first mentioned: "Walker" (p. 295); "Tappan" (p. 310); "Preston" (p. 246). In a work so readable one dislikes to point out errors which do not detract materially from the excellence of the study or from the inherent usefulness of this timely book.

The format of the volume is excellent; the selection of illustrations is appropriate; the well-selected bibliography is conveniently arranged; and the index is very usable.

Louisiana State University

WILLIAM B. HATCHER

The Life of John McLean, A Politician on the United States Supreme Court. By Francis P. Weisenburger. (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 1937. Pp. ix, 244. Bibliography, frontispiece. \$2.25.)

It is now almost twenty years since the reviewer became deeply interested in John McLean, perennial presidential candidate, through the perusal of a dozen years of his correspondence. All that time he has waited for some scholar with the requisite background of Ohio politics to exploit the materials ready to his hand. This Mr. Weisenburger at length has done, and in a manner which merits only praise for painstaking research, impeccable technique, clear-cut organization, and ease of style.

In a single brief chapter of seven pages Mr. Weisenburger sketches McLean's background from the landing of his immigrant father to his election to Congress. The next three chapters carry him through his career as "Wartime Congressman," "Judge in the Wilderness," and "Able Postmaster General." "Budding Presidential Ambitions" coincide with McLean's appointment to the Supreme Court, and his candidacy, down to 1852, is the theme of the five ensuing chapters. Three chapters then deal with his work on the Supreme Court and as circuit judge, and his part in the Dred Scott case. The author then returns to McLean's pursuit of the presidency, and concludes with a chapter dealing with his personal relationships and characteristics. Through the narrative of the political chapters and the discussions of the judicial (for the two sections are thus sharply differentiated in organization), Mr. Weisenburger successfully develops his portrait of the Judge; so that the reader is fully prepared to acquiesce in the final summation of his character and career.

Yet Mr. Weisenburger fails to answer several questions which have intrigued the reviewer all these years. Just what made McLean a presidential possibility in the first place? What political elements in Ohio backed him and projected him into national politics? What forces, political, economic, sectional, or social, found expression in his forty years' candidacy? What were his relations, financial or otherwise, with agents like Mowrer in New York and Teesdale in Ohio, who for years seem to have spent a large part of their time and considerable money traveling about and sounding out public opinion, duly reporting to the Judge? (Mr. Weisenburger does show that on one occasion McLean gave Teesdale pecuniary assistance.) Were these agents merely sounding out public opinion, or was the Judge's candidacy kept alive by their assiduity? How did McLean's judicial opinions, prior to the Dred Scott case, affect his presidential prospects? (Mr. Weisenburger feels "that often his individual pronouncements were a form of exhibitionism prompted by his keen political ambitions"; but the organization of the book prevents a clear correlation of the two aspects of McLean's career.) How is it that he was always an outsider, owning no certain loyalty to the major parties, but ever ready to coquette with minor groups, always hoping to be the compromise candidate on whom all factions could concentrate?

But, after all, an author is entitled to place his own interpretation on his subject, and a reviewer should not cavil because it is not what he would have done. Within his chosen limits, Mr. Weisenburger has done a thoroughly good piece of work; he strikingly reveals the inchoate party situation of the period and presents John McLean as a living personality.

Texas State College for Women

GEORGE R. POAGE

Albert Gallatin Brown, Radical Southern Nationalist. By James Byrne Ranck. (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1937. Pp. xiv, 320. Bibliography, illustrations. \$5.00.)

This work is published for the American Historical Association from a fund contributed by the Carnegie Corporation.

With evident diligence, especially in combing newspapers, Professor Ranck has disinterred a Southern politician, and placed his portrait along with the fresh studies of such secessionists as Rhett and Ruffin. That Brown still somewhat resembles a corpse may be attributed in part to the absence of any of Brown's papers, and in part to the approach of the painter.

Albert Gallatin Brown's long public career—he was legislator, governor, and congressman for thirty-five years—was spent as the representative of a constituency which possessed few slaves or none, the population of the piney woods of South Mississippi. Professor Ranck, who raises this constituency of Brown to the dignity of a class, very shrewdly attributes its proslavery attitude, and thus its theoretical Southern nationalism, to its fear of social and economic competition from the free Negro.

With this thesis as the background, the author announces the purpose of portraying Brown as the most influential leader of the small or nonslaveholding classes of Mississippi, especially in the seven years immediately preceding the Civil War. In this capacity, Brown was responsible for cleaving the Democratic party in Mississippi into radicals and Davis conservatives; in this capacity, too, together with other Southerners of his ilk and with Northern abolitionists, he bears the responsibility "for the failure of pacific means in settling the perplexing issues between the sections."

In no uncertain terms, Professor Ranck describes Brown, the advocate of state rights and sectional rights, as an agitator and a demagogue, a dangerous leader and a pernicious influence. However, through an unexplained metamorphosis, the formation of the Southern Confederacy discovers Brown, in this portrait, to be a patriot, an elder statesman. He supported Davis as head of a central government which Brown felt should be strong, and threw overboard his particularistic views in favor of the nation he had helped create. In one of his better chapters, "The War of Southern Nationalism," the author develops interestingly the cruel dilemma of the Confederate Congress: free and arm the slaves, and thus negate proslavery arguments, or lose a chance of preserving a nation. Brown

held for the former horn. In retirement during Reconstruction, Brown became downright respectable, in his biographer's estimate, by urging co-operation with the Scalawags, the Carpetbaggers, and the radical Republicans.

This book is political history of the type which is drawn from public utterances and newspaper comments upon them. Of the type, it is painstaking and detailed. Perhaps the reviewer is questioning a kind of political history, not this particular work, when he raises points on which the latter leaves him dissatisfied. However, in a study of an influential leader it is not unreasonable to look for some discussion of the *modus operandi* of political leadership of his time and place. How did a man rise to office in ante-bellum Mississippi? If Brown is repeatedly described as a masterly tactician, what were the tactics which entitle him to the adjective? If newspapers and their opinions are to form so large a portion of the sources for a study, one would like to know how they were run, who read them, what influence they had, and what general significance pertained to the press. In the realities of a methodological approach to politics in the South lies an entire field which cries for exploitation.

The writing of a biography predicates a belief in the influence of individuals in history, and yet in this book we deal more in debates on institutions and movements than in personalities and the factors of the human equation.

The author is aware that debates on slavery alone do not explain the sectional divergence which he considers Brown's chief field of action. But he sweeps Brown into a regional nationalism without sufficient inquiry into the varied bases of that nationalism, either in the South as a whole or in Mississippi. Surveying so large a period of a state's history, he could hardly have explored it thoroughly, but he almost removes Brown from his context, as it were, after he briefly develops the poor-white thesis already stated. In short, neither Brown nor his milieu is presented convincingly.

But sixteen excellent political and economic maps prove that Professor Ranck fully realized the possibilities of this study in one direction. One cannot encompass everything within the boards of a single book.

Duke University

W. B. HAMILTON

Winfield Scott: The Soldier and the Man. By Charles Winslow Elliott. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1937. Pp. xviii, 817. Illustrations, bibliography. \$5.00.)

Old Fuss and Feathers: The Life and Exploits of Lt.-General Winfield Scott. By Arthur D. Howden Smith. (New York: The Greystone Press, 1937. Pp. viii, 386. Illustrations, frontispiece. \$4.00.)

Mr. Smith's racy, popular biography of Winfield Scott might have called attention to the absence of a more serious study of this great military figure. Written with true journalistic verve and containing a surprisingly accurate estimate of

the better-known incidents in Scott's career, it is marred by numerous inexcusable errors. For information the author, in spite of the fact that he has consulted "five hundred or more sources," depends largely upon Scott, Keyes, and Mansfield. The volume is apparently not meant for the historian who may view with dismay the lack of bibliography and footnotes, and who may question certain of its interpretations.

As if to fulfill an indicated need, but almost contemporaneous in publication, comes the exhaustive, well-balanced, judicious biography by Major Elliott. It is indeed fortunate that this definitive work should be written by a soldier-scholar with a sense of humor. Its writing does not suffer by comparison with that of *Old Fuss and Feathers* even though many of Scott's less intriguing peacetime activities are elaborately treated. In fact, Major Elliott's most significant contribution is presented, after years of patient research, particularly in the War Department Archives, in the portrayal of Scott's life between the War of 1812 and the Mexican War and between the latter and the Civil War. The book unquestionably enriches our accessible knowledge of the military and political history of the pre-Civil War period and provides illuminating character sketches of many of the secondary and most of the primary figures of the time. Scott's career brought him into contact with almost all of the people of prominence between the administrations of Washington and Johnson.

In this lengthy study Winfield Scott emerges not only as a brilliant soldier but also as "a skillful negotiator and a thoroughly honest, well meaning, if exceedingly heavy-handed politician." As a pacificator he seems to have rivaled Henry Clay. A mere catalogue of the salient incidents in his life would consume more space than is here available. He is, of course, best known as a military leader, because of his masterful triumphs in the War of 1812 and in the Mexican War, with the decidedly less glorious Black Hawk, Seminole, and Creek affairs thrown in for good measure. Old age and failing health limited his Civil War experience to office work, although his advice was of great value to Lincoln and if accepted more wholeheartedly might have prevented some of the early Union disasters. Less known are his political blunderings which extended from his first dabbling in the election of 1824 to the successful candidacy of Lincoln and included several scramblings for the presidency in his own right. Perhaps least known are Scott's superlative efforts at pacification and mediation in the Nullification episode, the Cherokee removal proceedings, the Maine boundary imbroglio, the Canadian patriot squabbles, and the San Juan Island controversy.

While Major Elliott makes it clear that he loves the old warrior of whom he writes, he does not spare his weaknesses. For all his greatness, Scott was vain, dogmatic, irritable, and pompous; he possessed "a decided want of dexterity in the field of literary disputation" in which he continually indulged; and "his gifts as a statesman are not easily discernible." He demonstrated a pathetic belief in the promises of politicians who made use of his name and widespread popularity.

So skillfully is the thread of Scott's life woven into the narrative of the national scene that one need never lose sight of either. Major Elliott gains the reader's confidence by refusing, on occasion, to make guesses unwarranted by the sources. He is eminently fair to those many figures (such as Wilkinson, Jackson, Gaines, Polk, and Davis—with the possible exception of Pillow) with whom Scott entered into such vitriolic wranglings. He is unbiased in dealing with "the enemy," whether he be British, Mexican, or Indian. Possible criticism regarding, let us say, the professed inevitability of the War of 1812, the lack of many first names in the body of the text, and Scott's Seminole campaign, seems so trifling when the tremendous scope of the volume is considered that it is better ignored.

The maps and illustrations, the footnotes, bibliography, and index, are complete. The publishers have done an exceedingly worth-while job throughout. It is the opinion of the reviewer that every library dealing with the period from the Revolution through the Civil War should contain this outstanding biography.

University of Mississippi

JAMES W. SILVER

The Conquest of Cholera, America's Greatest Scourge. By J. S. Chambers. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1938. Pp. 366. Illustrations. \$4.75.)

There have been three major cholera epidemics in the history of this country: 1833, 1849, and 1873. Dr. John S. Chambers (M.D.) has written the story of these outbreaks. The first siege of cholera occurred in 1833 and spread throughout the Mississippi Valley. It was most serious in Quebec, New Orleans, the Ohio River towns, and at port towns along the Atlantic Coast. Immigrants coming to the United States and Canada in the slow-sailing boats of the day contracted the disease as it spread to Europe from Asia, and before they could land from their dreary Atlantic voyages hundreds died from the grim malady which killed within twenty-four hours. Volunteers going to the Black Hawk War on the Illinois frontier contracted the disease through use of the immigrant ship, *Henry Clay*. On July 4, 1832, the first case of cholera appeared on board the boat at Hog Island near Detroit. Here city authorities, hearing of this sickness, refused permission to the troop ship to land. Soon the cases multiplied, panic seized the crew, and the ship returned to Buffalo. Deserters, who became frightened by the appearance of disease, were found stricken, and in one case a corpse lay by the roadside half-eaten by the hogs.

The disease spread rapidly throughout the trading area of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. Kentuckians who were conducting a flourishing down-river trade contracted it in New Orleans and carried it to up-river communities. Cholera was transferred from Havana to New Orleans where the epidemic was localized for a time. Apparently steamboat traffic transferred the disease to the Upper Valley. On May 29, 1833, the first case appeared in Maysville, Kentucky, and by late July the disease had invaded nearly every Bluegrass community. At Lexington, where the water supply was subject to contamination, hundreds of cases

of cholera were reported. Deaths occurred faster than undertakers could supply coffins with the result that trench burials were necessitated. The hero of the terror was William "King" Solomon, a white vagabond who had once been sold as a vagrant to a Negro woman. "King" Solomon drank liquor and dug graves, while more refined Lexingtonians drank water and contracted cholera. This story was repeated wherever the scourge appeared. The outbreaks in 1849 and 1873 followed pretty much the same course, and with practically the same grim results.

Dr. Chambers set out to tell the story of the cholera epidemics, and to trace the rise of the germ theory in the practice of medicine. Doctors who found themselves confronted with cases of cholera knew only one thing to do and that was to give the patient abominable doses of calomel. Dr. John Esten Cooke of Transylvania Medical College prescribed calomel by the tablespoonful, and to William Douglas he administered nearly a pound in four days. Cholera germs were water borne, and sanitary precautions would have stopped the scourge. The author has succeeded in telling an interesting and authoritative story. He has hit upon a subject which the social historian has neglected too long and has produced a creditable study in this pioneer field.

University of Kentucky

T. D. CLARK

Bishop Whipple's Southern Diary, 1843-1844. Edited with an Introduction by Lester Burrell Shippee. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1937. Pp. xxvii, 208. Illustrations. \$3.50.)

Henry Benjamin Whipple, a little known figure today, was the Episcopal bishop of Minnesota for more than forty years. His long and successful struggle for the rights of the Indians won acclaim for him in America and abroad. As a young man Whipple, in search of health, toured the South in 1843 and 1844 and kept a journal of his sojourn. Since his death in 1901, the journal has been found, and in its printed form makes available some interesting observations of a sagacious and sympathetic young man.

Traveling on a first-class merchantman from New York to Savannah in October, 1843, Whipple found the voyage uneventful, but it was enlivened by several passengers whom he learned to know. Fired by a curious mind and facilitated by easy conversation, Whipple's gift for making friends gave him entree to social life wherever he went. After a short stay in Savannah he moved on to St. Augustine. In early February he was back in Savannah and from there began his trip westward "on the worst railroad ever invented." He made stops in Macon and Columbus, Georgia, Montgomery and Mobile, Alabama, and New Orleans. The last city was a revelation to Whipple. The morals were decidedly low in that "depraved city." With dismay he counted twenty violations of the Sabbath. In truth New Orleans appeared to him "to be at the extreme of everything, the hottest, the dirtiest, the most sickly, and at times the most healthy, the

busiest, and the most dull, the most wicked & the most orderly." Despite Whipple's longing to reach home, wife, and baby, his month's stay in New Orleans brought so many new acquaintances and interests that he dreaded the hour of departure. In contrast to the poor railroad in Georgia, the steamer *Missouri*, on which he went from New Orleans to St. Louis, was one of the best and finest on the Mississippi River. Beautiful scenery enhanced the comforts of the boat whose rate of speed covered 1,100 miles in four and one half days. From St. Louis Whipple went to Cincinnati on the *Goddess of Liberty* which belied its name, for it was "utterly destitute of all comforts and convenience." The last lap of the journey was made from Cincinnati to Philadelphia by stagecoach, and his journal was closed there in March, 1844. One finishes the diary wondering what effect the strenuous trip had on Whipple's health. Certainly it could not have brought much harm, for he lived a vigorous life and died just short of eighty.

The young man had liked the Southerner, his chivalry and generosity, but had marveled at the "sloth & luxury of the mass of whites." The Negro and Southern slavery came under his close scrutiny. Had it not been for the "odium of the name," Whipple, the "rational abolitionist," believed that every one would gladly have accepted slavery as it existed in parts of the South. The more closely he examined slavery, the more he became convinced that stories of the abolitionists were exaggerated and were largely products of the imagination. Slavery was an even greater curse to the white man for it sapped the energy of the South and hindered it from developing into a business section. It was tending "to make each generation more & more inefficient and less & less moral."

Almost wholly devoted to the South, this journal gives many close observations on travel and hostilities, social life, and the institutions of slavery and religion. Whipple has written with the dexterity and casualness of a seasoned traveler and observer—it is surprising to learn that he was a youth of twenty-one whose travel was enforced by illness. Dr. Shippee has edited the diary with care and has written a short and excellent introduction. The volume represents another fine example of the beautiful printing and binding one has learned to expect from the University of Minnesota Press.

Birmingham-Southern College

WALTER B. POSEY

The Atlantic and Emancipation. By H. A. Wyndham. (London: Oxford University Press, 1937. Pp. xvi, 300. \$4.50.)

This, the second volume of the Royal Institute of International Affairs to deal with relations between the Negro and the white man, has the virtues and the defects of its predecessor. The earlier volume, *The Atlantic and Slavery*, was concerned for the most part with the years of active slave trade; the present work treats of governmental problems as effected by race relations from the era of emancipation to recent times. Four geographical areas are considered: West

Africa, the West Indies, the United States, and South Africa. Central and South America, which had place in the first volume, are here omitted; South Africa is added. There is no reference to Spanish and Portuguese policy; the Dutch come into the account in incidental fashion only. Thus we have a presentation of French, English, and American methods of handling problems of government, colonial or domestic, which are complicated by the presence of blacks and whites.

Part I, West Africa, presents difficulties of arrangement of material not wholly solved by the author. The history of the creation of the Sierra Leone Settlement and Company before the Crown took over the control of this territory constitutes one chapter. The second and third chapters treat respectively of the "Treaty System" and the "Protectorates," as exemplified in Sierra Leone and the Gold Coast, with the inclusion of a section on Nigeria. The chapter on French Senegal develops first, the efforts of the French to build up the gum trade, and second, the administration of the colony down to the eighties. The last two chapters, entitled "French Policy" and "British Policy," are for the most part a description of administrative practice in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth, rather than a specific evaluation of policies.

Part II treats of the administration of the French West Indies from the time of the French Revolution to the end of the nineteenth century, and of the British islands for about the same period, though here part of the material is brought down to the 1930's. In the treatment of the French West Indies the most valuable part of the story is perhaps the conflict of ideas and of interests that marked the nineteenth century. Changes of government in France had their repercussions in the islands. Planters and traders were often at odds. Planters and Negroes seldom agreed. French policy at one time tended to share French privilege with colonists; at others emphasized the subordinate relation of the islands. French planters, while they wished autonomy or the privileges of the French at home for themselves, had no wish to extend the franchise and its accompanying privileges to the Negro. In the British islands attention is given first to the efforts to mitigate the evils of slavery and then to the process of emancipation. Following the freeing of the slaves came questions of administration and franchise. Slowly there developed a democratic form of government in Jamaica and Barbados in which "political colour discrimination is unknown" (p. 128). White and black are under the same law. This is of course not to say that the traditions of the past may not exert a powerful influence on the actions of the present. Upon that the author does not enter.

In the treatment of the United States a multitude of problems are touched upon, some dealing with slavery, some with the years since the Civil War. Party problems of both periods are considered; the Negro vote and the relation of the Republican party to it; the connection of radical parties or parties of discontent to race problems; the industrial opportunities open to the free Negro; all find place in these pages. This section will doubtless seem most unsatisfactory to the

American reader, who will feel that it devotes too much space to well-known material. However, it must be remembered that to British readers much of the material will not be equally familiar. The last chapter of the section deals with the history of Liberia which in many ways offers interesting points of comparison with that of Sierra Leone.

The last section deals with South Africa, to which ninety-one pages are devoted, whereas seventy-five had been given to West Africa, fifty-eight to the West Indies, and fifty-seven to the United States and Liberia. This proportion doubtless results from the fact that South Africa had not been treated in the earlier volume, and the author was thus obliged to trace its history through the eighteenth century. To the present reviewer much of the detailed material of this section is new and interesting and this will probably be true of many American readers. Yet here arises most insistently a question which has also called for answer at other points in the reading. If the purpose of these volumes is to deal with "Problems of Imperial Trusteeship," would not the purpose be better served if such problems could be sharply posed rather than allowed to emerge dimly from a welter of detail? That the problems are here is of course obvious. It is equally obvious that the detail recounts governmental attempts to solve them, but neither problems nor solutions stand out as they should. This might have been accomplished by a summary chapter or by a greater subordination and interpretation of detail in the light of the author's purpose.

Such criticism is by no means meant to deny the value of the work. In fact its very value makes one lament that its results are not more apparent. To get at the heart of the matter takes hard reading and the number of "hard readers" is limited. However, many students will rejoice to have at hand such a wealth of detail on so great a variety of subjects. From the volume the reader is bound to gain one sharp impression, that is, a sense of the haphazard fashion in which the course of empire takes its way. Empire-building scarcely seems the simple, purposeful progress to a well-defined goal about which we carelessly talk.

Wellesley College

ELIZABETH DONNAN

Mississippi, Storm Center of Secession, 1856-1861. By Percy Lee Rainwater. (Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Otto Claitor, 1938. Pp. xi, 248. Illustrations, bibliography. \$4.00.)

Within the past five years two very meritorious contributions to the history of Mississippi have been written by professors in the university of that state. One is Sydnor's *Slavery in Mississippi* (1933), the other is the volume here under review which deals in the main with the secession movement in that state beginning with the presidential election of 1856 and ending with the passing of the ordinance of secession in January, 1861. Both are excellent examples of historical writing by trained Southern scholars, and it can be said that if other phases of the

history of the state should in the future be as well written, the essential facts of Mississippi's history will be available for all students who may wish to study it.

Professor Rainwater's study is based on extensive research, including an examination of many newspapers published in the state during the period covered by him, and he also had access to numerous unpublished letters, diaries, and autobiographies, most of which are still in private hands. From these various sources he obtained much information relative to the growth of the secession movement, the different positions taken by the leaders, the action of conventions and other public meetings, the results of elections and other events which indicated the sentiment of the people on this, for them, the most vital question of the time.

From a brief consideration of the status of slavery in the state he passes in review the great contest of 1851 between the secessionists and the unionists which resulted in a decisive victory for the latter. For a time the secession movement seemed to have been effectively disposed of but it was soon revived by various events and particularly by the progress of the abolition movement in the North.

He reviews the presidential campaign of 1856 which resulted in the election of Buchanan who carried the state by a substantial majority. While Buchanan's election gave some satisfaction to the people of the state it did not put an end to the secession movement and by 1860 the controversy was raging again in all its fury. The campaign of 1860 was the most exciting one which Mississippi had known since 1840. Throughout the state it was widely proclaimed that the election of a "Black Republican" as president of the United States would justify and necessitate secession from the Union. Every member of Congress elected in 1860 was a secessionist, the only union candidate being defeated by a large majority. The author states that the first choice of the people for president was Breckinridge, their second choice being Lincoln, since if he instead of Breckinridge were elected the secession of the state could be fully justified. Douglas received hardly more than 3,000 votes in Mississippi. Bell, however, received a surprisingly large vote, nearly 25,000, being only about 15,000 less than the vote polled by Breckinridge. This indicated that there was still a large party in the state opposed to secession. Bell was in fact supported by many of the ablest leaders, including Judge Sharkey and James L. Alcorn, who pleaded for the preservation of the Union and warned the people that secession would be no remedy for their grievances.

With the election of Lincoln it was pretty clear, however, that the majority of the people were prepared to try the remedy of secession. The only question which divided them was whether the state should go ahead and withdraw at once or await co-operation with the other slaveholding states. Many of the leaders advocated the latter course. A goodly number also advocated delay in order to see what policy Lincoln would adopt. The extremists, however, carried the day,

the secession convention was called and in the election of delegates the "co-operation" candidates, which included such leading men as William Yerger, Fulton Anderson, and Amos R. Johnson, were defeated. While the election revealed that a substantial majority of the delegates were secessionists it left no doubt also that there was still a considerable Union sentiment in certain parts of the state, particularly in the Mississippi-Yazoo River counties and in the hill counties of northeastern Mississippi. In the election of delegates party lines were disregarded, among those selected being leaders of the old Whig party like Alcorn, J. S. Yerger, and Walker Brooke, and Democratic leaders such as L. Q. C. Lamar, J. Z. George, Wiley P. Harris, J. H. Orr, and W. S. Bary. Among those elected were uncompromising secessionists, moderate secessionists, co-operationists who were willing to give the Lincoln administration a trial, and a few who were opposed to secession under any and all circumstances. Among the last the outstanding figure was Alcorn, who made a strong plea in the convention for the preservation of the Union. After several amendments, intended to delay action, the proposed ordinance of secession was finally passed by a vote of eighty-five to fifteen. All the delegates (including Alcorn) save two, one of whom was unavoidably absent, signed the ordinance. A proposal to submit it to a popular vote was defeated. Professor Rainwater thinks, however, that if it had been submitted to the people it would have been ratified by a "small majority." But the Natchez *Courier* characterized the refusal of the convention to give the people an opportunity to vote on it as the act of "a dictatorial oligarchy."

The author answers one question often asked in the North, namely, whether Jefferson Davis was in advance of the people of the state on the question of secession. On this point he says that in 1859 Davis was undoubtedly not only "much more cautious but also more national in his views" than any of his Mississippi colleagues in Congress. During the presidential campaign of 1860, while he vigorously upheld the constitutional right of secession and even the duty of the state to resist "the rule of the arrogant and sectional North," he was criticized by the press of the state for a certain vagueness in his speeches regarding the particular circumstances under which the state would be justified in withdrawing from the Union and for his refusal to commit himself directly when he was asked specifically the question whether in his opinion the state would be justified in seceding in the event of Lincoln's election. The evidence collected by the author would seem to show that Davis was not one of the "fire eaters"—certainly not in the same sense that his senatorial colleague Albert G. Brown and many others were. On the other hand, he could not be placed in the same class with Alcorn, Sharkey, William Yerger, and others in their attachment to the Union and their opposition to secession.

University of Illinois

JAMES W. GARNER

The Girls of the Sixties. By Elizabeth Waring McMaster. (Columbia, South Carolina: The State Company, 1937. Pp. 175. Illustrations. \$5.00.)

When the Richland County, South Carolina, division of the National League for Woman's Service was organized in the spring of 1917, for the purpose of rendering aid to American soldiers in the World War, one of its units was composed of women who had been girls or very young women during the Civil War. After the World War was over, and their services were no longer needed in the League, the members of this unit decided to continue their organization, adopted the name "Girls of the Sixties," and continued to meet at regular intervals for patriotic, social, and literary purposes until the death of the president, Mrs. Clark Waring, in December, 1930, led the few surviving members of the organization to disband. One of the main features of the meetings of the club during its thirteen years of existence was the reading of papers by the members relating their experiences during the Civil War. Some twenty of these papers, together with over a hundred short biographical sketches of members of the club, have been collected by the daughter of Mrs. Waring and are published in this book.

The contents of the papers supplement but do not materially alter the impression one gets from reading such works as the two volume *South Carolina Women in the Confederacy* compiled about thirty years ago—namely, that the passing of years wrought little change in the attitude of South Carolina women who lived during the Civil War toward the events connected with that period. The burning of Columbia, the one event which South Carolinians are apparently incapable of forgiving or forgetting, is treated along conventionalized South Carolina lines, with Sherman and his "bummers" as the villains of the piece. "The awful period of Reconstruction," with its "carpetbaggers, grafters, and adventurers [who] had come down from the North, attempting to lay despoiling hands on everything," is placed in the frame of reference usually accepted by South Carolina women. The Old South and its institutions—"the great wide lands handed down from father to son; the slaves, handed down as property—their welfare a trust; the open-hearted, open-armed hospitality that was the established order; the gay chivalry that was a heritage; the earnest, kindly gentlemen and gentlewomen of 'the old school'"—are depicted in the traditionally romantic fashion. The bravery and heroism of the Confederate soldier is set forth as might be expected from elderly Southern women unfamiliar with scholarly treatises on defeatism and desertion.

Although the various biographical sketches may prove of some value to those interested in the more obscure phases of South Carolina genealogy, the book is neither a work of literary merit nor a contribution to historical scholarship. Doubtless it was not intended as such. The editor states that "the work of compiling the records . . . has been difficult, owing to the fact that so many members had passed away and the information desired was so personal few else could

furnish it." She has probably succeeded in her attempt "to present a creditable record of these brave and home-loving women" as well as might be expected under the circumstances.

The book is unadorned by chapter headings, an index, or a table of contents, but some compensation for these omissions is furnished by an alphabetical arrangement of the biographical material.

Converse College

JAMES W. PATTON

This One Mad Act . . . The Unknown Story of John Wilkes Booth and His Family. By Izola Forrester. (Boston: Hale, Cushman & Flint, 1937. Pp. xii, 500. Illustrations. \$3.00.)

On the island of Ceylon rises a peak which bears the name Monte Rita. This is the only non-Oriental place-name of the vicinity. "Rita" was a favorite name of the Booth family. John Wilkes Booth was reported living in Ceylon in 1866. These four apparently unrelated facts, to the author of this thick volume, constitute "important evidence" that the assassin of Lincoln escaped from Garrett's farm and lived in exile.

The author, who claims to be Booth's granddaughter, had a juvenile career on the stage before becoming a journalist. In 1908, finding "definite proof" that Booth escaped, she began collecting material for a complete refutation of history's view that Booth was captured. The result, *This One Mad Act*, can only by courtesy be called history.

Half of the book is concerned with the Booth family after the assassination. In sentimental, nostalgic style, the author tells the sad story of Booth's alleged widow, how she tried to escape the stigma of Booth's mad act by living in seclusion, hoping that the world and her children would in time forget. It is a tale replete with "brooding sadness," "dark eyes," "lovely voices," "beauty of a foreign quality." When conspiracy appears, Wilkes Booth and mysterious companions plot, eternally conversing "in low tones," and galloping madly off into the night. When the author visits the Booth burial plot in Greenmount Cemetery, Baltimore, the scene is complete with "a large black raven" perching on the family monument.

In a prefatory statement the author states that she proposes to set history right on three points: that Booth was married before the war; "that Lincoln's assassination was instigated by men high in the order of the Knights of the Golden Circle; that Booth escaped from the Garrett farm through the aid of this order and lived in exile until 1879."

The attempt to prove these points is made without footnotes or bibliography, and with almost no consideration of standard documents in the Booth case. Personal and family documents, plus interviews with survivors or descendants, constitute almost the whole of the material used.

The development of the third point, Booth's escape, is quite unconvincing. A vague story is told of a third man being substituted for Booth as the Federal troops reached the Garrett farm, whose corpse bore a truly remarkable resemblance to the assassin. The reader is urged to believe, but not told, that Booth fled in time's nick and escaped the country. Details of his appearance in England, India, China, the South Seas, California, echo rumors current in post-bellum years.

Dealing with the Knights of the Golden Circle, the author contradicts her statement of that organization's responsibility. On the other point, Booth's marriage and family, the story would not be unconvincing but for the fact that slipshod treatment of larger historical matters impugns the whole. A large body of family relics and papers are presented which are not easy to explain away. But the author does not, through unimpeachable evidence, prove that Booth was ever married, much less that he lived with his wife for a time in California in 1869 and became the father of a son, his second child.

Urbana, Illinois

WILLIAM E. BARINGER

Johnson Newlon Camden: A Study in Individualism. By Festus P. Summers. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1937. Pp. 605. Frontispiece, bibliography. \$5.00.)

This study, in the words of the author, "has been made to supply a missing chapter in American regional history." It is centered around "a dominating industrial figure in the upper Ohio Valley," and in his treatment of this man and his diversified interests the author provides an informing narrative of the development of trans-Allegheny Virginia into a "full-fledged commonwealth." It is fortunate that this volume should appear so soon after the study of *Francis H. Pierpont: Union War Governor of Virginia and Father of West Virginia*, by Professor Charles H. Ambler. These two biographies represent a genuine contribution to regional history and furnish a valuable insight into the origin and early development of this war-born state.

Johnson Newlon Camden (1828-1908) was both a product and a conspicuous representative of the period of "rugged individualism" during which he lived and labored. Having had a rather limited formal education, he was disposed to attach little importance to college instruction. "Most of the successful men of the present day, occupying responsible and lucrative positions," he wrote, "have come up from small business beginnings and not from collegiate educations." Success, in his opinion, was to be found in business pursuits rather than the professions, and he pointed out that "men of the best capacities are abandoning their professions to take charge of business interests." He emphasized the importance of good habits and economy and believed that success lay within the grasp of anyone possessed of good brains and strong character.

During the early years of his career Camden served in turn as a lawyer, surveyor, commonwealth attorney, bank clerk, merchant, and land speculator. This initiatory period must have clearly convinced him that his future success lay in the direction of business, industry, and commerce, and practically all of his subsequent career was devoted to various interests in these fields.

Few persons, it would appear, had a keener appreciation than Camden of the vast natural resources of western Virginia. Devoting his attention first to the production and refining of oil Camden met with marked success in this direction. Serving as "Rockefeller's right arm" in this region his oil interests later became subsidiary to the rapidly expanding monopoly of the Standard Oil Company. With the passing of years Camden gave increasing attention to the development of the timber and coal lands of his native state. His land speculations, particularly in the so-called "wild lands" of West Virginia, had led to the acquisition of thousands of acres of land bearing valuable timber and containing vast deposits of bituminous coal.

Camden's interest in railroad construction came as a natural corollary of his industrial activities. In order to market the oil, timber, coal, and other natural products in which he was interested it was imperative that railroads should be constructed which would penetrate the "interior" of the state and reach the source of production. Accordingly, Camden took a leading part in the promotion and building of several short-line railroads which, in the course of time, became subsidiary to the main trunk lines of that region.

Partly because of his early training in law but even more because of his business interests Camden took an active part in state and national politics. Always liberal in his contributions to the Democratic party he deserved the honor which was conferred upon him somewhat tardily by his election to the United States Senate in 1881. His services there might be summarized briefly by reference to his defense of West Virginia's position on the troublesome question of the Virginia state debt, his sponsorship of the long-and-short haul clause of the Interstate Commerce Act, and his none-too-consistent labors as an incidental protectionist on the tariff question. Camden was by no means a true statesman but rather a practical politician whose philosophy was based on the twin principles of "the freedom of the individual and the sanctity of property."

The author of this study is to be congratulated on his unbiased presentation of the life and work of Camden. There can be no question that Camden had an important part in the material development of his native state. His business methods, according to our present conceptions, were certainly not above reproach, and even in his own day unfriendly critics anathematized him as a representative of "monopoly and the cohesive power of public plunder." An example of the objective nature of this study is found in the concluding paragraph which tells of Camden's last illness and death and records that "Simple and brief, the burial services were a fitting acknowledgment of the passing of a plain and sincere man."

Camden's Letters and Papers, deposited in the West Virginia University Library, served as the chief source of information for this study. This voluminous collection, however, was supplemented by numerous other collections of pertinent manuscript material. The author acknowledges his indebtedness to several individuals who were of particular assistance to him in the prosecution of this study which "falls but little short of being a co-operative undertaking."

The book is handsomely bound and is unusually attractive in appearance and format. The type is large and clear and provides easy and pleasant reading. The study is well annotated and footnotes appear at the bottom of the page. Only one illustration appears, that of Camden as an elderly man, while several others might have been used to advantage. It is particularly regrettable, however, that the book contains no maps of West Virginia since these would have proved most helpful to the reader in following the detailed accounts of Camden's railroad schemes. The selected bibliography includes only works which are cited in the footnotes. The index is carefully prepared and altogether adequate.

The National Archives

NELSON M. BLAKE

Highland Heritage: The Southern Mountains and the Nation. By Edwin E. White. (New York: Friendship Press, 1937. Pp. ix, 197. Bibliography, \$1.00.)

The subtitle of this small volume is "The Southern Mountains and the Nation." The author is the pastor of a community church at Pleasant Hill, Tennessee, a place about thirty-five miles west of Rockwood in the midst of the carved-up Cumberland Plateau. Much more than a minister who delivers sermons, calls on the members of his flock, and performs marriage ceremonies, Mr. White knows the mountain people and their problems. He is likewise well acquainted with the influence which the hills and valleys have had in producing the type of life that persists in the Southern Appalachians.

The first six pages of the book furnish a brief, but charming, and on the whole, surprisingly accurate description of the Southern mountain area. The Piedmont Plateau, the Blue Ridge, the Great Smokies, the Appalachian Valley, the Allegheny-Cumberland Plateau—all these stand out clearly in the author's mind, and one is sorry that he did not write at least twice as much about them.

Firsthand information about mountain people—their habits, their ways of making a living, the kind of education provided for their children, the good and the evil resulting to them from capitalistic production of coal and lumber—fills the pages. The conclusion is that there can be developed and preserved a great rural civilization in the Southern Appalachian area—that there is a chance for "a real life for a great people." In short, the belief is expressed that there ought to develop in the Southern mountains "a life as fine and as satisfying as that in rural Denmark. . . . All the resources that the Danes have and more are here."

The people of the Southern highlands are the victims of their surroundings. They are a stranded people, but their condition is not hopeless. They are the raw material for something better. The government and the church co-operating with the people can bring about great changes for the better. People flow away from the mountains of the South every year, and some of them make places for themselves in the outside world. It is not this escaping element in which Edward E. White is primarily interested, but in those who stay: "What some of us are eager for," he declares, "is that mountain men and women shall become a power in the nation and the world without moving out, that they shall make their lives so fine and their institutions so worthy and successful that they shall play a really great part where they are."

The table of contents is quite adequate, but there is no index. A short "Reading List" of four pages is added at the end. The little book is not a historical monograph, but students of history will appreciate it, as will almost every intelligent person into whose hands it may fall.

Indiana University

WILLIAM O. LYNCH

Handicrafts of the Southern Highlands. By Allen H. Eaton. (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1937. Pp. 370. Illustrations, bibliography. \$3.00.)

This book deals with an important and extensive phase of present-day life in Southern Appalachia. The illustrations, which are reproductions of the Doris Ulmann and other photographs, are numerous and unusually fine. The author is well acquainted with the great variety of handmade products that come from mountain homes, small shops, and schools, and his account never grows tiresome. Two preliminary chapters deal briefly with Southern highlanders and their homes. Then follow seventeen chapters that portray the manifold handicraft activities of the mountain people. The various handicrafts are treated historically, their artistic influence is described, and the making and marketing of the great variety of commodities are treated. The last four chapters deal with the activities of the Federal government, state governments, and private agencies that are contributing to the development of the handicrafts, set forth the educational and recreational features of the handicrafts, and present conclusions.

Mr. Eaton finds that it is the homemakers of America, in the cities, towns, and open country of all the states, who are the hope of the fireside industries of the dwellers among the Southern mountains. He believes that no country contains greater potentialities than the United States for the development of the great handicraft movement, and holds that the possibilities are "as dependent upon attitudes as upon the markets." He thinks that the mountain boy was right, who said, "Bring us your civilization but leave us our culture," and feels that all Americans should have some part in doing this for the Southern highlanders.

The volume is attractively made up, and there is a well-selected bibliography

and satisfactory index. It is a rare book that will appeal to every person from any walk in life who may examine it.

Indiana University

WILLIAM O. LYNCH

The Etiquette of Race Relations in the South: A Study in Social Control. By Bertram Wilbur Doyle. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937. Pp. xxv, 249. Appendix, bibliography. \$2.50.)

This study in social control, one of many in the field of race relations, has as its objective the tracing of the origin and development of the code of conduct which has grown up between whites and Negroes as a basis of understanding for solving race problems. The central theme of the work is Herbert Spencer's hypothesis that ceremonial government is the most elementary and most persistent form of social control. By long usage patterns of behavior harden into customs which dominate the attitude and thinking of people. Since these attitudes are developed naturally by Society as it undertakes to meet the exigencies of life, they are more basic and less subject to change than formal laws.

With social control as his objective, the author traces the attitudes and code of conduct between whites and Negroes in the United States from 1619 to date, and presents the significant forms which constitute the code of etiquette in race relations. "The etiquette defining the forms to be observed by white and colored people comprises those observed in personal and private relations; in public relations and situations in which reference is made to persons of either group; in railways, streetcars, and other modes of transportation; in education, religion, and amusements; and, in short, in most, if not all, of the circumstances under which the two races must come into contact" (p. 142).

This etiquette has been of slow development, subjected to time, place, and other conditioning factors. Four major periods may be noted. The first was that of slavery with its master-slave relationship. Without precedent to serve as a guide, a code of race etiquette developed which had for its purpose the prevention or elimination of racial friction. This code, of natural growth and enforced by sentiment, was overthrown in the period of Civil War and Reconstruction by political action and legislative enactment. The resulting code was contrary to tradition, and, in turn, was legislated out of existence after the restoration of native white rule. The middle class now assumed that if the ante-bellum code had been disturbed by politics, it could be re-established by the same means. In other words laws were passed to enforce what had, prior to emancipation, enforced itself, namely, a code of etiquette in race relations. Finally, about 1920, the fourth and present period of race relations emerged. If the earlier periods were ones in which the Negro played an inferior rôle and the problem of race relations was one for whites to decide, the fourth period has for its purpose co-operation and mutual understanding. This objective, which has gained wide acceptance

among students of race relations, does not propose racial amalgamation or social equality. It emphasizes the necessity for recognition of values in both races, and each is to develop according to its especial needs. The races are no longer to look up or down—a superior and an inferior civilization. Instead, they are to look across to parallel civilizations.

Since the author is not overconcerned with solutions, this little volume settles nothing. It has, however, served its purpose of suggesting that the race problem may be solved to some extent by appeal to, or at least by taking account of, processes that have grown out of the social contact of the two races. The chief value of the work to the historian is the insight it gives to ceremonial forms between whites and blacks, particularly during slavery. An excellent bibliography and appendix adds to the study.

Historical Records Survey

V. L. BEDSOLE

COMMUNICATIONS

Kearny Mountain
Charlottesville, Virginia
February 7, 1938

DR. WENDELL H. STEPHENSON, MANAGING EDITOR
THE JOURNAL OF SOUTHERN HISTORY
UNIVERSITY, LOUISIANA

DEAR SIR:

Unwilling to trust my own opinion in my own case, I have taken a legal opinion of Dr. Silver's review of my book, *General Philip Kearny*, which appeared in the November, 1937, number of your *Journal*. This statement I adopt as my own.

MR. THOMAS KEARNY
CHARLOTTESVILLE, VIRGINIA

SIR:

1. You do not say, as the review claimed, that Lee was a traitor and Kearny a patriot; but that "Lee was as glorious, and that, too, as 'Union Soldier,' as Kearny,"—a grave untruth. The statement attributed to you was plainly quoted from Crotty.

2. The reviewer, because of your *alleged* use of named historical "ifs," rejects your book, on the whole, as history because the Kearny family is "glorified"; adding, however, that the letters are valuable.

3. You state that Kearny's opinions, embodied in his military conduct, prove Kearny "Military Scientist" (Lieutenant General Bullard); and repel the calumnies of McClellan that his acknowledged bravery was "sheer recklessness." Dr.

Silver may concur in this view in *his* stated "ifs," that Kearny was "one of the greatest fighters of the nineteenth century." Nevertheless, the reviewer ridicules these theses and "ifs," remarking that you are "unafraid of the ifs of history" although you expressly state that you are. Thus: (a) "If certain conditions had been fulfilled, Kearny would have captured Mexico City." For proof of Kearny's "military sagacity," you offer the unanimous opinions of all the division commanders and of Scott and Santa Anna, who cites Kearny, sword in hand, within his city, alone! (b) "If Sumner and Franklin had turned up, at *Second Bull Run*, Jackson would have been annihilated." You prove by the Confederates, then and there fighting Kearny, that his assault "broke the *Stonewall Brigade* and scattered them through the woods"; by General Pope and others, and by Lincoln: "At that moment we had the enemy in the hollow of our hands; if the generals who were vexed with Pope had turned up." (c) "Had Kearny been followed . . . the rebels would have lost Richmond" (1862). You prove that Kearny demanded of McClellan, personally, that he and *Hooker* be allowed to capture the city—"undefended"—at *Gaines Mills*; and demanded that McClellan attack after the rout at *Malvern Hill*; and denounced McClellan as "Traitor and Coward," in both cases, for failing to do so. The Confederates, Magruder and Hill, then and there fighting Kearny, and the Frenchmen on McClellan's staff, stated that the city would have fallen. (d) "If Kearny had not been killed, he would have been given command of the Northern Armies." You prove that Stanton wrote, September 1, 1862, that he would, *if new levies were formed*, appoint him to command a corps. Then, on September 8, Stanton wrote that he *had*, on September 1—when he, later that day, learned of McClellan's treason and General Pope's rout, appointed Kearny to a command he "knew no one capable of filling"—even on September 8. Plainly Kearny *had* been appointed to command the Army of the Potomac.

4. On the only other material issue criticized, whether McClellan was "Traitor or Coward," as alleged by Kearny and others, you quote, among others, Lincoln: "There was a concert of generals to defeat the North *without regard to the consequences to the country*"; and Chase: "McClellan ought to be shot as Traitor."

5. As to false statements of history, in the correction of which Dr. Silver kindly offers help, we observe that the bibliography, called "inadequate," *legally proves* that, on twenty-five points of *fact*, the noted historians, Nevins, Bashford, Goodwin, and others, considered together, err grievously. The order on which these professors, in their biographies of Frémont, make Stockton and Frémont commanders-in-chief and first and second military governors of California—eliminating and so *defaming* S. W. Kearny (about which Silver cares naught), did not exist. Then Goodwin and others devote pages to "Kearny hating Frémont" because Kearny was a West Pointer—when he was not.

I will add to this opinion the following personal views. As to Calhoun opposing expansion, he repeatedly stated in the Senate, "I oppose conquest." Scott

signed the statement I attribute to him. My ridiculed manner of genealogical statement is used by the most authoritative St. George's Society, thus: "2, 5, 8, Grandfather." My condemned "ifs" and "family glorification" and "grammatical errors" Dr. Silver himself adopts in a foregoing statement about Kearny as "*greatest fighter*" and in this sentence, with its two grammatical errors in six words: "If Kearny had been in command, the Civil War might *easily* have been *perceptibly* shortened"; and while condemning my quotes as misleading, he attributes Crotty's statement about Lee as a traitor to me! Of course, I had to put in the ten "firsts," for I was writing what the London *Times* calls a "complete definitive biography" (see, also, William Lyon Phelps, the Boston *Transcript*, the Los Angeles *Times*, etc.).

THOMAS KEARNY

February 19, 1938

DR. WENDELL H. STEPHENSON, MANAGING EDITOR
THE JOURNAL OF SOUTHERN HISTORY
UNIVERSITY, LOUISIANA

DEAR DR. STEPHENSON:

I deeply regret that Mr. Kearny has taken offense at my review of his *General Philip Kearny: Battle Soldier of Five Wars*. There was not the slightest desire to detract from the deserved fame of either Philip or Stephen Watts Kearny. I am willing for the review to stand on its own merits.

Sincerely,

JAMES W. SILVER

Historical News and Notices

At the last annual meeting of the Southern Historical Association, the Board of Editors of the *Journal* decided to publish in the November issue a compilation of projects in Southern history in progress. By the time the present number reaches members of the Association, they should have received a questionnaire requesting the desired information. Members will greatly facilitate the work if they will return them promptly, and also indicate names of nonmembers who have projects in progress.

THE DARE STONE

This issue of the *Journal* presents to its readers a preliminary study of the Dare stone, which, if genuine, throws new light on the Roanoke colony and clears up one of the most perplexing problems of early Colonial historiography. It will be noted that Professor Pearce makes no extravagant claims of authenticity at this stage of the investigation, and that he and his colleagues at Emory University are applying the canons of critical scholarship in their effort to evaluate an unusual piece of historical evidence.

Pending an exhaustive study of the stone and a thorough examination of the locale, members of the historical guild may assume an attitude of wholesome skepticism. The identity and status of the finder, the exact location of the discovery, the timely disclosure so near the celebration of the settlement at Roanoke Island, the presence of the stone in a region some distance from rock exposure, the mechanics of the inscribing process, and the unprecedented spelling and usage of certain words in the inscription, are some of the problems upon which the cautious will expect more light.

It is believed, however, that the publication of a preliminary study may contribute to a final determination of the stone's genuineness. It is proper that the *Journal* should serve as a medium by which attention may be focused upon an interesting and significant problem, and thereby contribute to its ultimate solution.

PROJECT FOR A CO-OPERATIVE HISTORY OF THE SOUTH

Some years ago the late George W. Littlefield of Austin, Texas, left a large fund to a group of trustees for the purpose of collecting source materials on Southern history at the University of Texas and, ultimately, of having written and published a "full and impartial History of the South and of its part in the building of the Nation." For some time the Trustees of the Littlefield Fund for

Southern History have been making plans for this History. Simultaneously, a similar project materialized at Louisiana State University as part of a comprehensive program to promote interest, research, and writing in the field of Southern history.

As the plans harmonized in essentials, the two groups of projectors have united their forces and now announce their joint sponsorship of a co-operative "History of the South, 1607-1940," to be published in ten volumes. Professor Charles W. Ramsdell of the University of Texas and Professor Wendell H. Stephenson of Louisiana State University will serve as editors, and the work will be published by the presses of the two universities. Tentative titles and periods of the volumes follow:

1. The Southern Colonies in the Seventeenth Century, 1607-1689
2. The Southern Colonies in the Eighteenth Century, 1689-1763
3. The South in the American Revolution, 1763-1789
4. Founding the Southern System, 1789-1819
5. The Development of Southern Sectionalism, 1819-1848
6. The Growth of Southern Nationalism, 1848-1861
7. The Southern Confederacy, 1861-1865
8. The South in Reconstruction, 1865-1880
9. The Origins of the New South, 1880-1913
10. The Present South, 1913-1940

The several volumes in the series will maintain a proper balance among the several aspects of Southern history—political, economic, social, cultural, religious, diplomatic, military, etc.—and they will be written to appeal to the intelligent general reader as well as to the professional historian. Each volume will contain from 120,000 to 125,000 words. Several contributors to the series have already been selected; the complete list will be announced in the near future.

PERSONAL

Powell Moore of the Extension Division of Indiana University was adjudged the winner of the McClung Award for 1937. The award is a cash prize of fifty dollars given annually by Mrs. C. M. McClung of Knoxville to the contributor of the best article in each year's issue of the East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*. Dr. Moore's contribution to *Publications* No. 9 is entitled "James K. Polk and Tennessee Politics, 1839-1841." Solon J. Buck of The National Archives, Charles W. Ramsdell of the University of Texas, and Mack Swearingen of Tulane University were the judges.

V. M. Queener, associate professor of history, Maryville College, has been appointed editorial associate for the East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*.

Richard H. Shryock of Duke University has been appointed to a professorship in history at the University of Pennsylvania.

Two new appointments to the Department of History at Duke University will become effective in September, 1938. Bayrd Still, professor of history in the Wisconsin State Teachers College at Milwaukee will become assistant professor, and Theodore Rapp, instructor in history at Harvard University, instructor.

Merritt B. Pound, associate professor of history at the University of Georgia, is on leave for the spring quarter to complete his residence requirements for the doctorate at the University of North Carolina.

The vacancy in the North Carolina Historical Commission, caused by the death of William K. Boyd, has been filled by the appointment of Clarence W. Griffin of Forest City, North Carolina, author of a *History of Old Tryon and Rutherford Counties* (1937).

H. C. Nixon of Tulane University is on leave during the current semester to participate in the public forum program of the United States Commissioner of Education. Mack Swearingen is acting head of the department during Professor Nixon's absence; his classes are in charge of Johannes Mattern of Johns Hopkins University.

Lester J. Cappon, archivist at the University of Virginia, has been granted leave of absence for 1938-1939. His position will be filled by W. Edwin Hemphill, acting assistant professor of history at Davidson College during the current year. J. A. McGeachy, at present engaged in graduate work at the University of Chicago, has been appointed associate professor of history at Davidson College.

A temporary vacancy in the Department of History at Goucher College has been filled by the appointment of Mrs. Irene Baker Walker.

Ralph Steen has been promoted to an associate professorship in the Department of History in the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas; Joseph Chubb Develin to an assistant professorship in the Department of History and Government at Sweet Briar College.

Leave of absence has been granted to George C. Osborn, professor of history at Berry College, Mt. Berry, Georgia, to work as research expert for the finance committee of the United States Senate.

Jennings B. Sanders of the University of Tennessee will be engaged in research in England during the major portion of the summer.

The following summer teaching appointments have come to the *Journal's* attention: John D. Barnhart of Louisiana State University will teach at the College of William and Mary; Paul H. Clyde of Duke University and R. E. Riegel of Dartmouth College will teach at the University of Missouri; P. L. Rainwater of the University of Mississippi will teach at the University of Texas; E. Merton Coulter of the University of Georgia, Charles W. Ramsdell of the University of

Texas, and H. T. Lefler of the University of North Carolina will teach at Duke University during the first term, and R. B. Flanders of New York University, O. J. Hale of the University of Virginia, and Culver H. Smith of the University of Chattanooga during the second term.

The second series of Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History, sponsored by the Graduate School and the Department of History of Louisiana State University, was delivered by Avery Craven of the University of Chicago, February 21-23. Choosing as his subject, "The Rise of Southern Nationalism, 1820-1860," Professor Craven presented "The Foundations of Nationalism," "The 'Peculiar' Institution," and "The Achievement of Nationalism."

Six lectures in Colonial history were delivered at the College of William and Mary, April 19-29, by Charles M. Andrews. His subjects were: "The Historian's Approach to Colonial History," "The Settlements," "England's Colonial Policy," "Colonial Contrasts and Amenities," "Rise of the Colonial Assemblies," and "The Revolution Impending."

The Louisiana State Museum and the Louisiana Colonials inaugurated Galvez Day, March 27, honoring Don Bernardo de Galvez, 1746-1786. The principal speaker was Walter Prichard of Louisiana State University.

With the death of Professor William Kenneth Boyd on January 19, after a long and painful illness, students of Southern history lost a distinguished scholar and friend. His first studies were in early European history, and in 1905 he published his doctor's dissertation on *The Ecclesiastical Edicts of the Theodosian Code*. But circumstances then led to a permanent shift to American and Southern history. Both as an undergraduate at Trinity College (now Duke University), where he studied under John Spencer Bassett, and as a graduate student at Columbia University, where he came in contact with men like Burgess and Dunning, he developed a sympathy and understanding for the South. Following his return to Trinity College in 1906 as professor of history, this interest grew and led to a long list of publications. These include his *History of North Carolina, 1783-1860* (1919), and *The Story of Durham, City of the New South* (1925). He also edited *North Carolina Tracts of the Eighteenth Century* (1927), and *William Byrd's Histories of the Dividing Line* (1929). With Professor J. G. de R. Hamilton he compiled *A Syllabus of North Carolina History, 1584-1876* (1913), and with Professor Robert P. Brooks *A Selected Bibliography and Syllabus of the History of the South, 1584-1876* (1918). He contributed articles and reviews to many historical publications, and for many years was joint editor of the *South Atlantic Quarterly*.

Although Professor Boyd was a native of Missouri, being born at Curryville, January 10, 1879, and a citizen of North Carolina by adoption, and although most of his writing was about the South, he was not sectionally minded. With a

critical scholarship that was remarkably free of bias, and with a clarity of thought and expression that needed no further literary adornment, he taught and wrote the history of the South. As a teacher he inspired many undergraduates to continue the study of history, and he had a distinct gift for arousing the latent talents of graduate students. All alike were impressed with his penetrating insight, his remarkable bibliographical knowledge, and his memory for details of local history, although he was in no sense the antiquarian type. In his students he took a silent pride and was deeply interested in their future success. Professor Boyd was a man of great force and energy, always ready to further the cause of learning in fields other than his own. He was especially anxious to promote literary and historical publication and library development. He was the first Director of Libraries of Duke University.

Aside from his influence on students, perhaps his most lasting monument is the collection of Southern Americana which began with his first connection with Trinity College and which grew with increasing rapidity after the establishment of the University. The task of bringing together this collection naturally fell to Professor Boyd, both because of his knowledge of the South and because of his zeal and enthusiasm for the preservation of historical records. He knew that authentic history could be written from the records only, and he felt that the collection at Duke, along with others elsewhere, would throw new light on the history of the South and lead to the exploration of topics as yet almost untouched.

The last two historical meetings Professor Boyd attended were those of the Southern Historical Association in 1936 and 1937. At the Nashville meeting in 1936 he presided at a luncheon conference on materials for research, and members of the Association will recall that on this occasion he emphasized the importance of gathering historical records and making them available. To all who knew him, and to all who were interested in the South, his untimely passing brings deep regret. [R. H. Woody]

Announcement has also been received of the death of two other members of the Association, Mrs. A. Wood Spiller of Hammond, Louisiana, and Hunter McDonald of Nashville, Tennessee. Among historians Mr. McDonald will be remembered for Mrs. Cornelia McDonald's *A Diary with Reminiscences of the War and Refugee Life in the Shenandoah Valley, 1860-1865* (Nashville, 1934), to which he added useful annotations and supplements.

George B. Winton, professor of history and of Biblical literature at Vanderbilt University, died on March 11 at the age of 77. Educated for the ministry, he had held pastorates in the Methodist Church, South, both in this country and in Mexico, and from 1889 to 1902 was president of the Methodist Theological Seminary at San Luis Potosi, Mexico, and editor of *Evangelistica Mexicana*. Before going to Vanderbilt, in 1927, he had served as editor-in-chief of the *Christian Advocate*, *Missionary Voice*, and the *Methodist Advocate*. He was the author

of *A New Era in Old Mexico* (1904), *A Study of Educational Conditions in Mexico* (1916), and *Mexico, Past and Present* (1928). [William C. Binkley]

HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

At the regular meeting of the East Tennessee Historical Society on December 3, 1937, the following officers were elected: Mary U. Rothrock, Tennessee Valley Authority, president; Samuel C. Williams, Johnson City, J. A. Sharp, Knoxville, and Zella Armstrong, Chattanooga, vice presidents; Laura Luttrell, Knoxville, secretary; Lucille Deaderick, Knoxville, treasurer; Culver H. Smith, University of Chattanooga, and J. B. Sanders, University of Tennessee, members of the executive committee; S. J. Folmsbee, University of Tennessee, editor of the *Publications*; Philip M. Hamer, National Archives, and Samuel C. Williams, Johnson City, members of the board of editors.

The Huguenot Society of South Carolina held its fifty-third anniversary meeting in the Hall of the South Carolina Society at Charleston, April 7. An address, "The Revival of Protestantism in France in the Eighteenth Century," was made by Rev. Edward G. Lilly.

Plans are being formulated to revive the Mississippi Historical Society and to renew its publication program. There is a possibility that a state historical magazine may be started.

The Mississippi Department of Archives and History reports two WPA projects: one to catalog its library and manuscript collections; the other to make an imprint survey of the state as a part of the larger project supervised by Douglas C. McMurtrie. Moreau B. C. Chambers, curator and archaeologist of the Department, will be director of the state survey.

Under the customary practice, the two prizes awarded by the American Historical Association for essays in American history would be awarded in 1939. In order to separate the two, hitherto awarded in the same year, the Executive Committee has decided that the Dunning Prize should be awarded this year, the Winsor Prize next year, and so alternately thereafter. The last date for presenting competing essays for the Dunning Prize to be awarded in 1938 is September 1. All persons submitting essays for this prize should address them to the chairman of the Dunning Prize Committee, Dr. Kathleen Bruce, Chesterfield Apartments, Richmond, Virginia.

The historical collection of rare Floridiana, assembled by T. T. Wentworth, Jr., treasurer of the Pensacola Historical Society, was exhibited at the Pensacola Federal Gallery during the fortnight commencing March 12. The collection contains sundry maps, charts, engravings, and drawings illustrative of the early history of Florida.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL

Among the more important recent manuscript additions to the Southern Historical Collection of the University of North Carolina are: the diary of Mrs. Mahala P. H. Roach of Vicksburg, Mississippi, 1853-1905, 52 volumes, and three scrapbooks kept by her; a collection of letters and a plantation record of Henry K. Burgwyn of Northampton County, North Carolina, 1844-1877; farm records and a diary of J. A. Burgwyn of Northampton County, 1885-1899; the diary of Miss Emma Mordecai, 1865; the papers of Frederick G. Bromberg of Mobile, Alabama; the papers of William Porcher Miles of South Carolina and Louisiana; the war letters of Charles Woodward Calcock Hutson of South Carolina and Louisiana; the Miltenberger Papers, San Domingo and Louisiana; war diary of Aristide Hopkins of Louisiana; plantation diary of Dick H. Eggleston of Wilkinson County, Mississippi, for 1830; diary of Horatio N. Gildart, 1825, 2 volumes; diary of Hugh A. Gwyn of Wilkes County, North Carolina, 1850-1851; the diary, 1852-1884, 2 volumes, and account books, 1854-1877, 2 volumes, of James Gwyn, of Wilkes County.

The University of Georgia has recently acquired the well-known Wymberley Jones De Renne Georgia Library, containing probably the most complete collection of Georgiana in existence. In 1931 a catalogue consisting of three large volumes was published, listing and giving full bibliographical information of the collection.

Recent acquisitions of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History include 23 volumes of account and cotton record books from Oxford, covering the years 1870-1900; and a manuscript diary of Thomas Rodney, United States judge of Mississippi Territory, describing a journey from Washington, Mississippi, to Fort Adams in 1804.

The University of Tennessee Library has recently acquired two important collections, primarily manuscript in character, dealing with the early history of Tennessee, including the pre-statehood period. It is hoped that these acquisitions, to be known as the William B. Lenoir Papers and the Barnes Collection, may be classified and made available to research workers within the next few months.

The Manuscript Division of West Virginia University Library has recently obtained from Jefferson County authorities at Charles Town, West Virginia, the loan of legal papers pertaining to the arraignment, trial, and execution of John Brown and others "for treason, advising and conspiring with slaves and others to rebel and for murder," etc., in 1859. Photostatic copies were made and the originals have been returned to the co-operating authorities. There are ninety-seven pieces, most of which are in excellent state of preservation. The Division also announces the accession of some 15,000 of the older inactive public records

of Jefferson County, which are deposited in the West Virginia University Library under authority of an act passed by the West Virginia legislature in 1934.

The Virginia Historical Society has received from Mr. W. J. Carter his collection of eighty-eight books on the turf, racing, and blooded horses; and from the estate of Walter Cole of St. Louis, valuable books and manuscripts including many letters from James Monroe, James Madison, John Quincy Adams, Martin Van Buren, James Buchanan, Jefferson Davis, Zachary Taylor, John Tyler, Millard Fillmore, Alexander H. Stephens, John C. Calhoun, William H. Seward, Horace Greely, J. E. B. Stuart, Governor Preston, Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, Robert E. Lee, Robert C. Winthrop, and others.

A collection of Osage Indian manuscripts from Pawhuska, Oklahoma, has been acquired by the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Among recent accessions to the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress, the following may be of interest to students of Southern history: additional photostats of letters of George Washington; papers of W. A. Burnham and Israel Whitney (New Orleans business firm), 1839-1846; Kentucky miscellany, 1775 to 1935; and papers of Hamilton Fish.

The North Carolina Historical Commission has recently acquired 67,000 pieces of court records of Bertie County, 25,000 of Hyde County, and 7,500 of Pasquotank County; a few hundred marriage bonds from Wilkes, Tyrrell, Perquimans, Mecklenburg, and Bertie counties; a photostat map of Halifax, North Carolina, 1769; and photostats of plans of the state capitol.

The library of the late Thomas M. Pittman of Henderson, North Carolina, has recently been acquired by Wake Forest College. The Pittman Collection contains a large assemblage of pamphlets, and much North Carolina and Baptist historical materials.

The Church of England in Colonial North Carolina (Soldier and Servant Series, Hartford, Conn.: Church Mission Publishing Company, 1937, 51 pp.), by Edgar Legare Pennington, is a study of the founding of North Carolina and the development of the Church of England in that colony to the latter half of the eighteenth century. Emphasis is given to contemporary accounts, particularly to those of religious leaders of the period.

Early History of the Northern Ozarks (Jefferson City, Mo.: Midland Printing Company, 1937, 192 pp.), by Gerard Schultz, is a study of seventeen Missouri counties in the northern Ozark region from prehistoric times to 1860. Some attention is devoted to every topic connected with the history of the region—geography, organization of counties, cities, and towns, transportation, industry, social life, religion, and cultural beginnings. Although similar to county histories in choice of material, the work contains much factual information.

The Population of Louisiana: Its Composition and Changes (Louisiana Bulletin No. 293, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Agricultural Experiment Stations, 1937), by T. Lynn Smith, is a sociological study which will serve as excellent historical reference material. "An intensive analysis of the composition and changes in the population of the state of Louisiana is undertaken in this report. The second of three reports on a study initiated at the Louisiana Agricultural Experiment Station in 1933 [*The Growth of Population in Louisiana, 1890 to 1930*, was published in July, 1935, as Louisiana Bulletin No. 264], the present analysis is concerned with: (1) a study of the present make-up and composition of the population; and (2) an exposition of the changes in composition that have occurred in the last 40 years" (p. 1). This concise and complete work shows the results of much labor. It is regrettable, however, that information of such value is not provided with a more durable binding.

Biographical Sketches of James M. Bradford, Pioneer Printer (St. Francisville, La.: St. Francisville Democrat, 1938, 53 pp., \$1.00), by Elrie Robinson, is a supplement to the information concerning the famous family of printers. James M. Bradford was the son of John Bradford of Kentucky renown, and the importance of the former to Louisiana printing history compares with that of John Bradford in Kentucky records. James was official territorial printer and was connected with several newspapers, among which were the *Orleans Gazette* and the *Time Piece*, published at St. Francisville. As Bradford served in responsible positions as well as printer and publisher, the story adds much to the history of the period and the section.

Seventh Annual Report of the Archivist, University of Virginia Library, for the Year 1936-37 (University of Virginia, 1937, 35 pp.), gives a report on policy and lists recent archival acquisitions. The most significant recent additions include: the John Warwick Daniel Collection, 1860-1910; the Withrow Family Papers, 1890-1895; diaries of Joseph A. Waddell for the years 1855-1859 and 1862-1865; letters and accounts of Daniel Grinnan and John Mundell; and various imprints, rare volumes, newspapers, etc. The Report also includes as an appendix, a "Bibliography of Original Baptist Church Records in the Virginia Baptist Historical Society, University of Richmond."

Third Annual Report of the Archivist of the United States, 1936-1937 (175 pp.), includes besides various reports, a "Guide to the Material in the National Archives, June 30, 1937" (pp. 111-68).

A recent publication of interest to the historian, issued by the Government Printing Office, is *Glimpses of Historical Areas East of the Mississippi River Administered by the National Park Service* (105 pp., 1937). Its purpose is "to acquaint the American people with the location and historical significance" of the areas.

The Historical Records of North Carolina, Volume I, *The County Records, Alamance through Columbus* (Raleigh: The North Carolina Historical Commission, 1938, 491 pp.), edited by Charles C. Crittenden and Dan Lacy, was prepared by the Historical Records Survey of the WPA. The volume includes an introduction and inventories of the records of twenty-six counties.

ARTICLES ON THE STATES OF THE UPPER SOUTH

- "The British Campaign of 1777 in Maryland Prior to the Battle of the Brandywine," by G. Harlan Wells, in the *Maryland Historical Magazine* (March).
- "What Jonathan Boucher Preached," by R. W. Marshall, in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* (January).
- "Elkington [Virginia]," by Anne Floyd Upshur and Ralph T. Whitelaw, *ibid.*
- "Lime Preparation at Jamestown in the Seventeenth Century," by Worth Bailey, in the *William and Mary Quarterly Historical Magazine* (January).
- "George Edmund Badger in the United States Senate, 1846-1849," by Lawrence F. London, in the *North Carolina Historical Review* (January).
- "The Free Negro in Ante-Bellum North Carolina," by James B. Browning, *ibid.*
- "The Origin of the Franklin-Lee Imbroglia," by Thomas P. Abernethy, *ibid.*
- "Nathaniel Macon, the Cincinnatus of America," by Clarence Poe, in the *South Atlantic Quarterly* (January).
- "The Meaning of the Past for the Future," by Cassius M. Clay, in the *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society* (January).
- "John Brown and His Influence on Kentucky Politics, 1784-1805," by Elizabeth Warren, *ibid.*
- "Lexington's Slave Dealers and Their Southern Trade," by J. Winston Coleman, Jr., in the *Filson Club History Quarterly* (January).
- "Origins of the University of Louisville," by William C. Mallalieu, *ibid.*
- "Salt, A Factor in the Settlement of Kentucky," by Thomas D. Clark, *ibid.*
- "The Role of Kentucky in 1867," by William A. Russ, Jr., in the *Susquehanna University Studies* (January).
- "Governor Cyrus Harris," by John Bartlett Meserve, in the *Chronicles of Oklahoma* (December).
- "The Aboriginal Chickasaw Nation," by Janet Bond, *ibid.*
- "Education of the Chickasaws, 1856-1907," by Caroline Davis, *ibid.*
- "Early Missionaries to the Cherokees," by E. C. Routh, *ibid.*
- "Some Experiences of C. H. Rienhardt in Early Oklahoma," by Mildred M. Viles, *ibid.*
- "Millie Durgan," by George Hunt, *ibid.*

DOCUMENTS AND COMPILATIONS ON THE STATES OF THE UPPER SOUTH

- "The Ark and the Dove; Transcripts from the Public Record Office, London," contributed by Raphael Semmes, in the *Maryland Historical Magazine* (March).

- "Bill for the Construction of the Chase House," edited by J. Donnell Tilghman, *ibid.*
- "Notes from the Records of Stafford County, Virginia, Order Books," continued, in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* (January).
- "Letters from Old Trunks (from the 'Lee Papers')," continued, *ibid.*
- "Diary of Col. William Bolling of Bolling Hall," continued, *ibid.*
- "An Old [indenture] Record," contributed by Sara Higgins, *ibid.*
- "Books Read in Virginia in Early 19th Century—1806-1823," contributed by Edwin R. Lancaster, *ibid.*
- "Seven Parish Acts," edited by Churchill G. Chamberlayne, in the *William and Mary Quarterly Historical Magazine* (January).
- "A List of Petitions from York County to the General Assembly from 1776 to 1861," compiled by Garland Evans Hopkins, *ibid.*
- "The Papers of the Food Administration for North Carolina, 1917-1919, in the National Archives," by William D. McCain, in the *North Carolina Historical Review* (January).
- "Unpublished Letters from North Carolinians to Van Buren," edited by Elizabeth G. McPherson, *ibid.*
- "The Seige of Bryan's Station," by Richard H. Collins, edited by Willard Rouse Jillson, in the *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society* (January).
- "The Beauchamp-Sharp Tragedy in American Literature," by Willard Rouse Jillson, *ibid.*
- "Daniel Sibert's Reminiscences of the War of 1812—Letters to His Brother, Jeremiah Sibert," *ibid.*
- "Letters of George Caleb Bingham to James S. Rollins," edited by C. B. Rollins, in the *Missouri Historical Review* (January).

ARTICLES ON THE STATES OF THE LOWER SOUTH

- "The Work of Soldiers' Aid Societies in South Carolina during the Civil War," by James Welch Patton, in the *Proceedings of the South Carolina Historical Association* (1937).
- "The Thoroughbred in South Carolina," by W. H. Mills, *ibid.*
- "The Nature and Volume of Exports from Charleston, 1724-1774," by Charles Joseph Gayle, *ibid.*
- "The Migration of Loyalists from South Carolina," by Robert W. Barnwell, Jr., *ibid.*
- "Castle Pinckney, Silent Sentinel of Charleston Harbor," by Rogers W. Young, in the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* (January).
- "The Landing Place of De Soto," by John R. Swanton, in the *Florida Historical Quarterly* (January).
- "The Firebrand Affair: A Forgotten Incident of the Mexican Revolution," by Harris Gaylord Warren, in the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* (January).
- "The History of the City of Carrollton," by Wilton P. Ledet, *ibid.*

- "Almonte's Inspection of Texas in 1834," by Helen Willits Harris, in the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* (January).
- "Locations of the Early Spanish Missions and Presidio in Nacogdoches County," by R. B. Blake, *ibid.*
- "Analysis of the Work of the General Council of Texas, 1835-1836," by Ralph W. Steen, *ibid.*

DOCUMENTS AND COMPILATIONS ON THE STATES OF THE LOWER SOUTH

- "Reports on Loyalist Exiles from South Carolina, 1783," by Robert W. Barnwell, Jr., in the *Proceedings of the South Carolina Historical Association* (1937).
- "Papers Relating to the Georgia-Florida Frontier, 1784-1800," continued, edited and translated by D. C. Corbitt, in the *Georgia Historical Quarterly* (March).
- "Old Canoochee Backwoods Sketches," continued, by Julia E. Harn, *ibid.*
- "Letter written to the Secular Cabildo of Santiago de Cuba by Hernando de Soto, Espiritu Santo, Florida, July 9, 1539," translated by James A. Robertson, in the *Florida Historical Quarterly* (January).
- "The Arrival of De Soto's Expedition in Florida," by Mark F. Boyd, *ibid.*
- "Materials relating to the History of the Mississippi Valley, from the minutes of the Spanish Supreme Council of State, 1787-1797," compiled and edited by Abraham P. Nasatir and Ernest R. Liljegren, in the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* (January).
- "The West Florida Revolution of 1810, as Told in the Letters of John Rhea, Fulwar Skipwith, Reuben Kemper, and Others," edited by James A. Padgett, *ibid.*
- "Documents relating to George Graham's proposals to Jean Lafitte for the occupation of the Texas Coast," edited by Harris Gaylord Warren, *ibid.*
- "Records of the Superior Council of Louisiana," LXXIV, translated by Heloise H. Cruzat, marginal notes by Henry P. Dart, revised by Walter Prichard, *ibid.*
- "Index to the Spanish Judicial Records of Louisiana," LVI, translated by Laura L. Porteous, marginal notes by Walter Prichard, *ibid.*

GENERAL AND REGIONAL ARTICLES AND COMPILATIONS

- "James Colbert and the Spanish Claims to the East Bank of the Mississippi," by D. C. Corbitt, in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (March).
- "Cincinnati, A Southern Outpost in 1860-1861?" by Charles R. Wilson, *ibid.*
- "Yellow Fever in Memphis in the 1870's," by Gerald M. Capers, *ibid.*
- "A Little More Light on Gettysburg," by Milledge L. Bonham, Jr., *ibid.*
- "With Grant at Vicksburg—From the Civil War Diary of Captain Charles E. Wilcox," edited by Edgar L. Erickson, in the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* (January).
- "The Lincoln Migration from Kentucky to Indiana," by R. Gerald McMurtry, in the *Indiana Magazine of History* (December).

"Vermont and the Slavery Question," by Charles E. Tuttle, Jr., in the *Proceedings of the Vermont Historical Society* (March).

"Henry W. Grady," by John Donald Wade, in *The Southern Review* (Winter).

"John C. Calhoun," by Andrew Nelson Lytle, *ibid.*

"Plantations with Slave Labor and Free," by Ulrich B. Phillips, in *Agricultural History* (January).

"The Course of the South to Secession," continued, by *id.*, in the *Georgia Historical Quarterly* (March).

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